

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME LVI.

1873.

No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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No. CXI.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

Nº CXI.

ART. I.—THE TERRITORIAL ARISTOCRACY OF BENGAL.

No. IV.—THE RAJAS OF RAJSHAHI.

- 1.—*Dissertation concerning the landed property of Bengal.* By Charles William Boughton Rouse, Esq. 1791.
- 2.—*Nabanári, or Lives of nine females, in Bengali.* By Nílmani Basák.
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RA'JSHA'HI is bounded on the North by Dinájpur, on the East by Pabná, on the West by Máldah and on the South by the Padmá. It lies between latitude $24^{\circ} 6'$ — $24^{\circ} 58'$, longitude $88^{\circ} 18'$ — $89^{\circ} 20'$, is 62 miles in length from East to West, and 50 in breadth.

It was ceded to the East India Company by an imperial grant of the Díwání, dated Dehli, 1765.

Rájsháhi is one of the most important districts of Bengal. At once populous and productive, it has been and still is the seat of the nobility of Bengal. Situated on the Great Ganges and separated by that river from Murshidábád, the former Muham-madan capital of this province, it commands a strong position. It is the head-quarters of the Commissioner of the Murshidábád Division, and may be regarded as the chief district of Eastern Bengal.

There is a conclave of Rájás and untitled noblemen in Rájsháhi. Most of the families represented by them have decayed, but they

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at one time were large Zamíndárs and performed important functions.

The Thákurs, or as they are commonly called, the Rájás of Patiyá constitute the oldest territorial aristocracy of Rájsháhi. They reside in Patiyá which is now a police sub-station and situated half way between Nátor the former, and Boáliyá the present, sadar station of the district. Their principal estate is Lashkarpur, a Parganá extending over a large tract of country and situated on both sides of the Padmá. They are said to have acquired it from Shaikh Lashkar, an officer attached to the court of Murshidábád.

The origin of the Patiyá family is as follows :—

There lived, according to tradition, in his ásrám at Patiyá a Rishi named Batsaráchárjya, who spent his days in devotion. During his time Lashkar Khán, who had got a grant of Jágir called Parganá Lashkarpur from the Emperor of Dehli, having died, his estate lapsed to the Government. At this period, Bengal was governed by eighteen Súbahdárs, who collected the rent and transmitted the same to the Emperor. After some time the Súbahdárs conspired against the Emperor, and determined to withhold the rents. For the purpose of checking their insubordination, the Emperor sent a General with a suitable force. On his arrival, he had a secret interview with the Saint Batsaráchárjya, who entertained him and his officers, and questioned them as to their mission. After being acquainted with it he wished them success, and pointed out the means of attaining it. The General fought with the Súbahdárs and brought them to their senses. Having accomplished his mission, he saw Batsaráchárjya and received his congratulations on his success. In recognition of the good services and wishes of the Saint, the General obtained the permission from the Emperor to grant him Lashkarpur, which had escheated on the demise of the former proprietor. Batsaráchárjya leading a religious life, did not appreciate the pecuniary advantages of the grant or take any pains to develop its resources. His son Pítámbar was a clever man, who ingratiated himself with the Emperor and took possession of his paternal estate Lashkarpur. On the death of Pítámbar his younger brother Nílámbar succeeded him in his estate, and by his exertions enhanced the value of the estate. His youngest son Ananda during the life-time of his father had received the title of Rájá from the Emperor. His son Ratikánta in consequence of certain unpopular acts, did not inherit the title of Rájá, but was known among the people as "Thákur," a title which still distinguishes the family. For the support of necessitous people, his son Rámchandra established the idol Rádhágovind. He died leaving three sons, viz., Naranáráin, Darpanáráin, and Jaynáráin Thákur. During the time of Nara-

náráin, Kámdeva, the father of Raghunandana—the founder of the Nátor family—was employed as a Tahsildár of Báraihati.

It was when Darpanáráin became the head of the family that Raghunandana, the founder of the Nátor Ráj, experienced a change of fortune, being promoted from a humble gatherer of flowers to the office of Vakíl of the Patiyá family in the Court of Murshidábád. Of his career full details will be given in the proper place.

During the *régime* of Lord Cornwallis, Anandanáráin was the head of the Patiyá family. With him the Permanent Settlement of Lashkarpur was made. The estate was assessed at Rs. 1,89,592-4-0. One of the successors of Anandanáráin, Rájendra-náráin, received from the Government the title of Rájá Bahádur. Jagannáráin, another successor of the family in the Bengali era 1214, made the following additions to the Patiyá estate by purchase, viz., Parganá Pukhariá in Zila Maimansinh, Parganá Káligrám Kálisaphá, and Kázihátá in Zila Rájsháhi, Bhabá-nandadiar in Zila Nadiyá and several small zamíndáris. Having thus enhanced his profits, he devoted a portion thereof to the establishment of a religious endowment at Benares; he also built a ghát and a guest-house in that city. He erected another guest-house on the banks of the river Phálgu in Behar. In the year 1216, B.S., his hereditary title of Rájá was confirmed. He died in Paush in 1223, B.S. His widowed wife erected at Patiyá a temple dedicated to Siva, and celebrated the occasion by large grants of Lákhiráj lands to learned Bráhmans. He used to distribute in the cold weather clothes to the poor, and during the rainy season to feed both men and cattle, an example which is followed by the amiable, excellent and benevolent young Rání Saratsundarí, widow of the late Jogendranáráin Rái; the latter was educated at the Wards' Institution and gave ample promise of pursuing an exemplary career, but died a premature death. We give below the pedigree of the Patiyá family.

Batsaráchárya	Narendranáráin
Pítámbar	Modanáráin
Nílámbar	Rupendranáráin
Ratikánta	Pránnáráin Thákur
Rámchandra	Kesabnáráin
Naranáráin	Gokulendranáráin Rái
Darpanáráin	Bhubannendranáráin
Jaynáráin	Rudranáráin
Premnáráin	Lakehmínáráin
Chandranáráin	Rájá Rajendranáráin
Pratápnáráin	Anandanáráin
Anupnáráin	Jagannáráin
Kisorínáráin	Krishnendranáráin
Brajendranáráin	Golakendranáráin

Bhupendranáráin

Mahesnáráin

Girísnáráin

Iswarnáráin

Ishánnáráin

Rámnáráin

Mathurendranáráin

Rání Bhubanmayi Debí, widow

of Rájá Jagannáráin

Harendranáráin

Bhairabendranáráin

Brajendranáráin Rái

Rájá Paresnáráin Rái

Ramesnáráin

Nimnáráin

Rámnáráin

Táraknáráin

Kedárnáráin

Jádabnáráin Rái

Srináráin Rái

Jogendranáráin Rái

Debendranáráin Rái

Bhubendranáráin Rái

Gopálendranáráin Rái

Baikunthanáráin Rái

Angesnáráin Rái

Kásináráin Rái

Kumár Jyotíndranáráin Rái

There lived in Mauzá Nátor, in Pargana Lashkarpur, a Bráhmaṇ, named Kámdeva. He had three sons, namely, Rámjibana, Raghunandana and Vishnurám. Raghunandana was employed in the Patiyá family. He at first served in an humble capacity, but he subsequently rose to power and affluence, partly through the influence of that family, and partly through his own intelligence, cunning and unscrupulousness. It was originally his business, as we have already stated to gather flowers for the performance of the Pújá of the family idols. Tradition says that on one occasion while he was employed in this vocation, he was fatigued and fell asleep in a garden, and a snake was observed to spread its hood over his head to protect him from the scorching sun. This circumstance being reported to Darpanáráin Rái, the head of the Patiyá family, he was surprised at it, and predicted from it the future greatness of Raghunandana. He sent for Raghunandana, assured him that he would be a great Rájá and extorted from him a promise not to dispossess his family by fair or foul means, of the Parganá Lashkarpur. Not dreaming that he would be a Zamíndár, he readily gave the required promise and said that if he were to own the whole of Rájsháhi, he would except Lashkarpur from his possessions. He was true to his word. When he became the largest Zamíndár in Bengal, and his landed possessions embraced nearly the whole of Rájsháhi and large portions of Jessor, Farídpur, Pabná, Maimansinh and other districts, he did not lay his hands on Lashkarpur.

Darpanáráin Rái assisted in the fulfilment of his own prophecy. Finding Raghunandana to be an intelligent person, and far above his position he employed him as his Mukhtár and representative in Dháká (Dacca), or as it was then called Jahángirá, the then seat of Government. He was afterwards employed in a similar capacity in Murshidábád when the Government was transferred from Dháká (Dacca). It was the custom, as observed in the Fifth Report of the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company, "for

the landholders of distinction and other principal inhabitants to maintain in proportion to their rank, an intercourse with the ruling power, and in person or by Vakíl or agent to be in constant attendance at the seat of Government, or with the officers in authority over the district where their lands or their concerns were situated. To establish an interest at the darbár, and to procure the protection of some powerful patron, were to them objects of unceasing solicitude."

Raghunandana soon mastered the rules and regulations of the Muhammadan Code and ingratiated himself with the officers of the Nawáb. He particularly won the golden opinions of the Kánúngo, the most influential officer of the Court. Being satisfied with his rare abilities both as a lawyer and a financier, the Kánúngo employed him as his assistant or Náíb Kánúngo. In this capacity it was his duty to prepare statements of account and stamp them with the seal of his master before submission to the Nawáb and then to the Emperor. He enjoyed the entire confidence of the Kánúngo, and was entrusted with his seal. The Kánúngo was the registrar of the land and expounder of the customs and usages in regard to the same. All documents attested by him were received as authoritative and conclusive in disputes regarding the boundaries, rent, and revenue of lands.

About this time the Nawáb incurred the severe displeasure of his Suzerain by his careless management of the Súbah. With a view to ward off his Majesty's displeasure and win back his favour, the Nawáb had a false statement of account prepared. The Kánúngo being called upon to sign and stamp it with his seal, he refused to do so. He said he would not be a party to such a proceeding. The Nawáb was placed in a dilemma, for it was then the custom that papers not bearing the signature and seal of the Kánúngo were neither accepted nor sanctioned by the Emperor. During this crisis the Nawáb, according to tradition, sent for Raghunandana and asked him to put the seal on his account. Unable to resist the terrible temptation of winning the favour of His Excellency, Raghunandana complied with the requisition. The accounts were sanctioned by the Emperor and the Nawáb was saved. His Excellency evinced his gratification and gratitude by appointing Raghunandana as Rái Ráyán and Díwán. The Rái Ráyán is the principal officer of the province next to the Díwán, and the Díwán represented the Nawáb in all matters of detail regarding the Government. These posts opened to him a vista of greatness, and enabled him to reap a rich harvest of rupees. The Díwánship was especially a post of great importance and honour. It clothed its incumbent with the powers of the Nawáb. In the case of weak-minded Nawábs, the Díwán was the *de facto* Nawáb, and in the case of strong-minded Nawábs, he was the

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Náib or sub-Viceroy, and enjoyed and exercised an authority second to that of his master.

During the Muhammadan *régime*, although the hereditary character of Zamíndárs was generally recognised, as we will show presently, it was often the custom to deprive defaulting Zamíndárs, as well as those guilty of murder or rebellion, or having no influence in the Court, of their estates and transfer the same as gifts or for some nominal consideration to some favourite at the Court of Murshidábád or their relatives. In this way Bhagabati and Ganesnáráin, the Chaudhrís of Parganá Bangáchi, being defaulters were dispossessed of their property, and it was made over to Rámjibana, the brother of Raghunandana through the influence of the latter. The transfer was effected in the Bengali era 1113. Thus Rámjibana became the Zamíndár of Bangáchi and the co-founder of the Nátor Ráj. In the Bengali era 1115, Rájá Uditnáráin, a Zamíndár of Rájsháhi being gathered to his father, his estates were made over in like manner to Rámjibana. The Zamíndáris during the days of Raghunandana were classed under three denominations, namely, Jangalburi, Intikálí and Ahkámi. The first comprises land which having been reclaimed from waste by the diligence and industry of another person is bestowed upon him on condition of his paying *Khiráj* or the revenue of the Crown. The second class or Intikálí may be productive, and in a good state of cultivation, yet on account of the neglect of the Zamíndárs to pay the arrears of revenue (*Jama Pádsháhi*) or his dying without issue or leaving no heir, or for committing rebellion, another person may, under the orders of the Emperor obtain a sanad for the estate. The last class Ahkámi, meaning by order or authority, is when the Zamíndár is ousted for no fault of his own but through the intrigues of the officers about the person of the Nawáb for their own benefit. The Zamíndáris in this case were granted to the officers in their own names or in those of their relatives.

In 1117 Bengali era, on the death of Rámkrishna, the Zamíndár of Bhitariá, &c., Raghunandana got the management of the Zamíndári which remained in the name of Rání Sarbání, the Zamíndár's widow; but she dying soon after without heirs, the Zamíndári was transferred in the name of his brother Rámjibana. In 1120 Uditnáráin, the Zamíndár of Rájsháhi, being discontented with the oppression of the officers of the Nawáb, rebelled, collected his adherents, and retired to the hills of Sultánuba. Raghunandana was deputed to arrest him. He seized and confined him in prison for which service he was rewarded with the Zamíndári of Rájsháhi, which he took in 1121 in the name of his brother Rámjibana. A year after this, the Parganá Naldaha was conferred by the

Nawáb upon his brother Rámjibana. Some time afterwards, Sítarám, the Zamíndár of Jessor, was apprehended and confined for the murder of the Fauzdár, Abutarab, but dying in confinement, his Zamíndarí Bhushná, together with that of Ibráhimpur, &c., was given to Rámjibana. In the course of a few years the entire district of Rájsháhi, save and except Parganá Lashkarpur, became the property of Rámjibana. When it is remembered that the Rájsháhi of Rámjibana's days embraced the whole of Pabná and Bagurá and portions of other districts, some idea of the extent of his Zamíndarí may be formed. The large estate of Sutar which had been in the possession of Sítarám, was wrested from him for his rebelliousness and bestowed on Rámjibana. In process of time, the Nátor Ráj developed into gigantic dimensions. It embraced the Parganá of Sháhujiál in the west, and the Zamíndarí of Bhushná, the Parganá Naldi and Mukimpur on the east, and immense portions of other estates in other districts. It constituted unquestionably the largest Zamíndarí during the last century. It was commonly called an estate of 52 lákhs. Such were the origin and the progress of the Nátor Ráj. Its real founder was unquestionably Raghunandana, but its grandeur and reputation were due not so much to his capacity and cunning as to the management and energy of Rámjibana and his Díwán.

The estate of Bhushná was very large and comprised the bulk of Farídpur and Parganá Naldi in Jessor. It was assessed at the Permanent Settlement at Rs. 3,30,000. The assessment was very high, and was in excess of the proceeds of the estate.

Raghunandana died in 1131, and his infant son, Bhawání Prasád, expired after a short period. The management of the Nátor Ráj then devolved on Devíprasád, the son of Vishnurám and Kálikáprasád, the son of Rámjibana, the latter exercising a controlling authority. At about this time, Kishwar Khán, Shamsheer Khán, and Ináyat Khán, &c., Zamíndárs of Hávilí, Máhmudábád, Sháhujiál, Tunji and Sarúppur, and Isfindar Beg, Zamíndár of Parganá Pukpariá, being thrown into confinement for murder, their Zamíndarís were escheated and conferred on Rámjibana. Afterwards Ináyat Ullá, Zamíndár of Jalálpur, falling in arrears, sold Hávilí, Fathiábád, &c., to Rámjibana to make good his revenues.

We have now to describe a man who played no insignificant part in the annals of Rájsháhi.

Dayárám Rái was an extraordinary man. Of his antecedents nothing is known. Though he did not receive a high education, yet he was endowed with uncommon intelligence. What school had denied him, nature supplied him with Sharp, shrewd and sagacious, he could read men as

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scholars read books. He could deal in his own way with those with whom he was brought into contact. He was a first-rate man of business, and he thoroughly understood the principles as well as the details of it. He was large of heart and large of brain. He first appears on the stage of Nátor as an inferior officer of the Ráj under its founder Rámjibana. But the consummate tact and clear judgment he evinced in the transaction of zamíndarí affairs soon won him the golden opinions of his chief and he was soon appointed the Díván of the Ráj. Were it not for his good management, Rámjibana could not have extended or preserved his zamíndarí. In truth, while Raghurám at Murshidábád was the creator of the Nátor estate, Dayáram was the consolidator of it. While one was the Clive, the other was the Hastings of the Ráj. Dayáram was a skilled and experienced financier and was able so to husband the resources of the Ráj as to add funded to landed wealth. He was also a valiant man. When the expedition against the rebel Rájá Sítáram Rái of Máhmudpur in Jessor was organised, Rámjibana with the permission of the Nawáb, appointed Dayáram to head the same. Sítáram showed fight, but Dayáram at last captured him and brought him to Nátor where he died after a short imprisonment. The successful issue of the expedition earned for Dayáram the unqualified satisfaction of the Nawáb. His Excellency was also pleased with him for the admirable way in which he carried out several orders entrusted to him directly. In recognition of his merits, the Nawáb conferred upon him the title of "Rái Ráyán" which is tantamount to Rájá Bahádur.

Rájá Dayáram received from Rámjibana substantial tokens of the gratification of the latter, in the shape of several valuable zamíndarís. He was so entirely trusted by Rámjibana that he was appointed guardian to his successor Rámkánta and manager of the Ráj after his death.

Kálíprosad having died during the life time of his father in 1131, corresponding to A.D. 1725, Rámjibana wanted to give ten annas of his estate to his great-grandson Rámkánta, and the remaining six annas to his nephew Devíprasád, but the latter not being agreeable to this partition, the whole was bestowed on Rámkánta.

In 1737, Rámjibana died, leaving the temporary charge of the Ráj in the hands of his friend and counsellor Dayáram Rái. His management of the Ráj during the interregnum was admirable and evinced great sagacity and impartiality. In process of time Dayáram made it over to Rámkánta. In 1146, corresponding to 1740, the estates of Sarúppur and Patladá came into the possession of Rámkánta. The latter estate scarcely yielded at that time Rs. 7,000, but the profits of it and its adjoining zemindaries

were enhanced by the late Hon'ble Prasanná Kumár Thákur to more than three lákhs of rupees per annum.

When Rámkánta succeeded to the Ráj, he was 18 years old. He was a pious man and devoted his time to the performance of the Pújás and religious duties, but he had no capacity for business. He had been married to a girl of uncommon sagacity. She was 15 years old when she became, as the consort of the Mahárájá, Mahárání Bhabání. She was the most celebrated personage in the whole family and her administration of the Ráj, during the last half of the last century, was memorable. If Rámkánta had had something of the intelligence and far-sightedness of his wife, he would have succeeded in managing the Ráj, but he had not in his whole composition a particle of that strong common sense and clear judgment which distinguished the Mahárání Bhabání. He was destitute of the faculty of appreciating the merits of men and he could never distinguish friends from foes. A few months after he succeeded to the estate, he quarrelled with Dayáram Rái who had been the firm friend, the trusted adviser and confidential agent of Rámjibana. The Ráj being in arrears, Dayáram remonstrated with the Mahárájá against his careless management and pointed out to him the necessity and importance of collecting and punctually forwarding the revenue to the Nawáb. Rámkánta being unable to appreciate this disinterested advice was offended with his out-spokenness. He first ceased to be guided by the advice of Dayáram, then ceased to show common courtesy to him, whom he had been taught by Rámjibana to regard and address as his *Dádá* or elder brother and at last he dismissed him from the post of Díwán. Surrounded by a band of flatterers he was led by them to believe Dayáram to be more an enemy than a friend. Dayáram was astounded and disgusted with this treatment. Unable to brook this insult and wishing to bring the young Mahárája to his senses, he proceeded to Murshidábád where he represented the real state of things to the Nawáb. Having entire confidence in the Rái Ráyán, His Excellency deprived Rámkánta of the management of the Ráj, and made it over to Devíprasád, the son of Vishnurám and the nephew of Rámjibana. Rámkánta was helpless and solicited the interference of his quondam Díwán for the restoration to the Ráj. Dayáram compassionating the condition of Rámkánta, and especially of his wife, Mahárání Bhabání, for whom he had great regard, moved, and with success, the Court of Murshidábád to restore the rightful owner to the Gadí. Dayáram returned to the old post of Díwán after having taught his young master a lesson which he was not in a hurry to forget.

In 1153, corresponding to 1748, Rámkánta died without male issue, but had given permission to his wife to adopt a son and heir in accordance with the provisions of the Hindu law. The

Ráj came into the possession of his widow the Mahárání Bhabání. She at first made over the management to Raghunáth, her daughter's husband, but he dying in 1158, she resumed it. In 1165, corresponding to 1760, she was deprived of the Ráj through the intrigues of Nandakumár Rái, and it was given to Gauríprasád, son of Devíprasád. Gauríprasád held the Ráj for a few months, and then it was made over to the Mahárání. The Mahárání Bhabání was endowed with a large capacity for business. She thoroughly understood zamíndárá affairs, and the tact and judgment with which she managed the Ráj were most admirable. She wisely availed herself of the experience of Dayáram Rái. Unlike her husband she fully appreciated his rare qualities and was always guided by him in matters of difficulty. She enhanced the profits of several estates and arrested the ruin of others. She was gifted with genius—with the talent of governing and managing men, and her *régime* was the culminating period of the influence and wealth of the Nátor family. She was a strong-willed and large-brained woman, but she was amenable to the advice of those whom she trusted. She was a proud woman, but her pride was defensive and not aggressive. It was the pride of a princess who could condescend to be familiar with her Amlá and officers, but could when necessary keep them at arm's length. On one occasion when she instituted an enquiry into the validity of the tenures of lákhiráj lands granted to Bráhmans by Rámjibana, she found the Sanads of several either not forthcoming or bearing the signature not of the donor Rámjibana, but of Dayáram Rái. Referring to the latter she said to Dayáram half jestingly and half seriously, that she intended to resume them. Dayáram replied that it was not competent to her to do so, inasmuch as the *Pan Patra* or letter of her betrothal to the late Mahárájá bore his (Dayáram's) signature and not that of Rámjibana. If therefore she disallowed Sanads signed by him, she must also be prepared to repudiate her marriage contract with Rámkánta. The Mahárání smiled, and not only gave up resumption, but under the advice of Dayáram she made an immense number of grants of lákhiráj lands to learned Pandits. Dayáram had thus the satisfaction of being the means of providing for the learned poor of his district.

During the trial of Warren Hastings a member of the House of Lords in his reply to the accusation alluded to the charge of His Excellency having received money from the Mahárání Bhabání and expressed his utter disbelief of the same. His Lordship said, "With respect to the Rání Bhabání, from whom Mr. Hastings is accused of having received the large sum of forty-four thousand pounds sterling, there certainly is not one tittle of evidence to support the charge, nor can I find even

the name of this person mentioned in any part of the evidence."

The Maharání's knowledge of worldly affairs did not prevent her from spending enormous sums of money in the establishment of charities and religious edifices. Her mind was many-sided, and while she transacted business, she could design Atithi-sálás or Asylums for the poor and provide for the support of the same. She established in Benares 380 Asylums, Guest-houses, and Thákur-báris, some of which are richly endowed and are still kept up. She laid out a road surrounding the site of Benares and extending to more than ten miles. It led from Benares proper, under the portals of the temple of Biseswar, and reached Surnáth, the former seat of Buddhism. At Murshidábád she established an idol called Syám Rái and endowed it with a large zamíndárá called Dihí Phulbáriá, now under the management of Rání Sibeswarí Deví. She erected temples and other religious edifices in other districts, and endowed the same with large lands. The seat of the Ráj teems with such edifices. She covered Nátor with temples and minarets, above which towered the Kálí Bárá. But "decay's effacing fingers" have been at work. The religious establishments at Benares standing as they do in the name of the *Guru* or spiritual guide of the family are gone to wreck and ruin, because the said *Guru* and his descendants are extinct. Rání Sibeswarí the real *Shabaeth* will do well to apply to the Collector for the restoration of the Debottar properties with a view to their proper management.

The Maharání Bhabání was pious, liberal, and actively benevolent. She was not slow in performing the duties of her station, as she understood them according to the lights of her age and country.

There is an anecdote regarding the family of the Maharání which illustrates the unbridled lust of Nawáb Sarájuddaulá. Her daughter whose husband had been for some time entrusted by her with the management of the Ráj, but who had died a premature death, had left his wife in the fulness of youth and ripeness of beauty. She was in truth a woman of rare and lustrous beauty, and the news of it reached the ears of Sarájuddaulá who longed to have possession of her person. The Maharání was paralysed by astonishment and fear. That the Nawáb, under whose protection she lived, should so far forget himself and the duties of his exalted station, as to be desirous to violate the chastity of the Rájkumárá of the first house in Bengal, a girl who had lost her husband and was according to the *Sástras* doomed to perpetual widowhood indicated in her opinion an absence of all moral obligation and a depth of degradation not easily paralleled. She was

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resolved to rescue this fair young flower. She therefore took her daughter *Tárá* with her and fled from the *Rájbárá* to Benares. She left at night in order that her retreat might be covered by the darkness. But *Sarájuddaulá* soon came to grief in his encounter with the English and had to give up his diabolical purpose.

The *Mahárání* had the gratification of witnessing the extinction of the Muhammadan Government and the substitution for it of the English Government.

The first notice that we find taken by the English authorities regarding the *Mahárání Bhabání* is as follows:—

Mr. Holloway thus speaks of the *Mahárání*, "At *Nátor* about ten days travels North-East of Calcutta resides the family of the most ancient and opulent of the Hindu Princes of Bengal. *Rajah Ramkunt* of the race of Brahmins who deceased in the year 1748, and was succeeded by his wife, a Princess named *Bhobanee Ranee*, whose *Dewan* or Minister was *Doyaram* of the *Teely* caste or tribe; they possess a tract of country about thirty-five days' travel and under a settled Government; their stipulated annual rent to the crown was seventy lakhs of *Sicca Rupees*, the real revenues about one *krone* and a half."

Mr. Warren Hastings in his "Memoirs relative to the state of India" mentions that "the *Zamíndárá* of *Rájsháhi*, the second in rank in Bengal and yielding an annual revenue of about twenty-five *lákhs* of rupees has risen to its present magnitude during the course of the last eighty years by accumulating the property of a great number of dispossessed *Zamíndárs*, although the ancestors of the present possessor had not by inheritance a right to the property of a single village within the whole *zamíndárá*." Mr. Hastings himself did not spare the *Ráj*, as he wrested from *Rání Bhabání* the large estate of *Báhárbánd* in *Rangpur* and vested the same in his *Banian Kánta Bábu*.

Before we proceed further with the history of the *Nátor Ráj*, we desire to glance at the status and condition of the old *Zamíndárs* under the Muhammadan *régime*, as illustrating those of the founder of the said *Ráj* and his immediate successors.

At the time of the Permanent Settlement the Chief of the *Nátor Ráj* exercised civil and criminal powers and was also unmolested in the collection of revenue. On him rested the power of farming the lands, collecting the rents from the villages, and keeping the accounts. He was independent of the interference of the Government in the details of fiscal and criminal administration.

The other large *Zamíndárs* who then practically ruled Bengal were vested with similar powers. It was only when they were

remiss in the payment of the *sadr jama* that officers were deputed to enforce the above payments. The revenues were at first paid by eight and then by twelve instalments. The phrase *Zamíndár* is derived from *Zamín*, signifying land, and from *dár* which is an inflexion of the Persian verb *Dashten* signifying to hold or possess, without reference to time. The phrase *Tálukdár* which in Bengal now means the holder of a *Pattaní* or other subordinate tenure, and in Oudh means a *Zamíndár*, comprised formerly in this Province two classes of land-holders, namely, the *Sanadi* *Tálukdár* and those having none. The former was considered as independent of the *Zamíndár* and paid his revenue direct to the Government, but the latter were generally subordinate to the *Zamíndár*. The import of *Tálukdár* is the holder or possessor of a *Táluk*, the Arabic word signifying attachment and dependence. Mr. C. Wm. Boughton Rouse in his Dissertation on the landed property of Bengal written in 1791, thus describes the manner in which the revenues were paid by *Zamíndárs* and *Tálukdárs*: "It appears upon a reference to all the correspondence of the times, and is universally known, that when the *Díwání* of the three Provinces was ceded to us, the country was distributed amongst the *Zamíndárs* and *Tálukdárs*, who paid a stipulated revenue by twelve instalments to the Sovereign power or its delegates. They assembled at the capital in the beginning of every Bengal year (commencing in April) in order to complete their final payments, and make up their annual accounts; to settle the discount to be charged upon their several remittances in various coins for the purpose of reducing them to one standard, or adjust their concerns with their Bankers; to petition for remissions on account of storms, drought, inundation, disturbances, and such like; to make their representations of the state and occurrences of their districts: after all which they entered upon the collections of the new year; of which, however, they were not permitted to begin receiving the rents from their own farmers, till they had completely closed the accounts of the preceding year, so that they might not encroach upon the new rents to make up the deficiency of the past."

But whether *Zamíndárs* or *Tálukdárs* they occupied a tenure which was essentially hereditary but modified by the circumstances we have before mentioned. Of this the history of the *Nátor Ráj* affords a signal illustration. Although some members of the family were dispossessed for their mismanagement, and others were vested with the chiefship of the *zamíndarí*, yet the property was never given away to outsiders. Even those tyrants, *Jafar Khán*, *Alívardí*, and *Kasim Alí*, never thought of ousting the *Zamíndárs*. They plundered, fleeced,

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and punished the defaulting Tálukdárs and Zamíndárs and others guilty of accumulating wealth, yet, as soon as their avarice and rapacity were satisfied, they allowed the old proprietors to resume the management of the Zamíndáris. The principle of hereditary descent was thus recognized by the Subahdárs of Bengal. The position that we maintained in our paper on the "Bardwán Ráj" that the large Zamíndárs were not mere rent-collectors or financial officers, but hereditary chiefs and vested with imperial offices, is supported by several authorities since consulted by us. Mr. Rouse after expressing his conviction derived from a searching inquiry "that the state in which we received the rich Provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, was a general state of hereditary property," confesses his inability to fix the period when Zamíndári Sanads were first issued by the Muhammadan Government. He is, however, inclined to think that they have not been in use much above a hundred years beyond his time, and ascribes their origin to Aurangzeb. He says this Emperor may very probably have judged it expedient, after the suppression of the civil war in Bengal by the final defeat of his brother Sultán Shujá in 1660, and the subjection of the Deccan in 1687, to issue these patents of investiture for the land-holders, who had been faithful to his interest. "It may be presumed, that in general, the former occupants were confirmed in their possession upon a settled tribute; because we do not find, although Aurangzeb was an enthusiast for his own religion, that he made any disposition of the conquered lands amongst his own followers and adherents; but gave them altogether to the Native Hindus." The Sanad usually concluded thus "Let him encourage the body of the ryots in such a manner that signs of an increased cultivation and the improvement of the country may daily appear." It did not, however, prescribe the annual valuation or the enhancement of the revenue.

Mirzá Moshín, an experienced Muhammadan officer during the early English *régime*, thus bears his testimony to the hereditary tenure of Zamíndárs. "At present the children of a Zamíndár take the land possessed by their fathers and grand-fathers, as an inheritance; it is done upon the strength of the ancient custom and institutions; according to which the Zamíndári of the father was transferred by Sanad to the son. If the office of Zamíndári, in the nature of other offices, were limited to the life of the incumbents, they would never have exerted themselves to promote the improvement and prosperity of the country. Nor would the population and revenue have been advanced, as they are now from what they were in former times. But when the Emperors thought it politic upon the decease of a Zamíndár, to continue the office of Zamíndári to his children, the Zamíndárs on their part felt a

confidence and satisfaction in discharging the duties of their situation, and always employed their strenuous endeavours to promote the prosperity of their districts." The Zamíndárs, according to the same authority, were invested with three offices; "first, the preservation and defence of their respective boundaries from traitors and insurgents; secondly, the tranquillity of the subjects, the abundance of cultivation, and increase of the revenue; thirdly, the punishment of thieves and robbers, the prevention of crimes, and the destruction of highwaymen." Mr. J. Sullivan in his observations upon the Sarkár of Masulipatam printed in the year 1780, observes that, "at his demise in 1707, the whole country was possessed by the ancestors of the present Zamíndárs;"—an observation that is borne out by the A'ini Akbari which has a distinct column descriptive of the title and religion of Zamíndárs.

It is mentioned in the Fifth Report of the Select Committee that "the Zamíndárs of Bengal were opulent and numerous in the reign of Akbar, and they existed when Jafar Khán was appointed to the administration, under him and his successors their respective territorial jurisdictions appeared to have been greatly augmented, and when the English acquired the Díwání, the principal Zamíndárs exhibited the appearance of opulence and dignity."

Such was the condition of the landed properties of Bengal when the permanent settlement came into operation. How that settlement operated on zamíndáris in general and on the Nátor estate in particular will be presently told.

Mahárájá Rámkrishna, the adopted son of Rámkánta, succeeded his mother the Mahárání on her death. Like his father he was very pious and devoted his whole time to pújás. He did not like his mother combine piety with business, but entirely neglected the latter and was in fact incapable of understanding it. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at, that the decadence of the Ráj and the disintegration of the vast zamíndáris constituting it commenced from his time. His officers, Amlá, and even his menial servants robbed him on every side and accumulated wealth for themselves. Among them Kálísankar Rái, the ancestor of the Naráil family, was the principal. He was regarded as a friend, philosopher, and guide. But he was unfortunately neither a faithful friend, a good philosopher nor an infallible guide. He was on the contrary a principle of evil introduced into the Nátor Ráj for its destruction. He was an individual cloud of gloom hovering on the horizon of Rámkrishna, ultimately to enshroud his estates in darkness and ruin.

The Mahárájá sold to Kálísankar, for a song, the Parganá Kádihátí and also let out to him the rest of Bhushná in *Ijárá*. Being a thoroughly bad manager of Zamíndáris he believed Bhushná would prove profitable under the control of Kálísankar. The *Ijárá* commenced in April 1793, and during the first year the *Ijárá*-

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dár enhanced rents from 3,24,000 to 3,48,000. In the second year he demanded Rs. 3,88,000, but his demand although supported by violence and oppression, was resisted by the *rayats*, some of whom instituted suits against the enhancement and obtained decree "authorising them a refund of three times the amount taken." The prestige of Kálísankar was at this time lowered by another circumstance, *viz.*, an accusation of murder preferred against him. He was for four months in jail during the trial but he was afterwards acquitted. The Mahárájá being disappointed in his expectations of profiting by the *zabardast* proceedings of Kálísankar, resorted to another plan to guard against his estate being sold for arrears of revenue. In December 1795, he transferred by *hibánámá* or deed of gift, his right, title and interest in Bhushná, to his minor son Biswanáth. The estate becoming the property of a minor was taken charge of by the Court of Wards. Although the estate was in arrear, yet it was thus saved for a time from the Collector's hammer. The Mahárájá also executed another deed by which he suspended for six months the enforcement of his claim from Kálísankar for Rs. 50,000, being the amount due from him as *Ijárádar*. The object of this document was to give time to Kálísankar and prevent the Court of Wards from demanding that amount. The estate being mismanaged, Mr. Earnest was appointed in May 1797, Commissioner of Bhushná, and was vested with full authority to revise the settlement and make arrangement for the realization of rent. He commenced by announcing his intention to abolish the whole of Kálísankar's second increase of rents and one-half of his first increase. He, however, met with great opposition from the Rayats in and out of Court, but he at last overcame it, and effected the settlement. He fixed the entire revenue at Rs. 3,27,800, assessing the *sadr jama* at Rs. 2,48,118, and awarding a *Zamíndári* allowance, provided it could be realised. The Ráj Kumár Biswanáth when he attained his majority, was offered the estate, but he refused to receive it back, because it was a losing concern. But the Court of Wards ruled that the estate was responsible for its revenue whether he took charge of it or not. They therefore proceeded to sell it piecemeal for the recovery of the arrears of revenue.

The following sales in Bhushná were effected in the office of the Collector of Jessor in 1799 :—

<i>Parganá.</i>	<i>Assessed.</i>	<i>Date of sale.</i>	<i>Purchasers.</i>
Hávilí	Rs. 36,613	15-2-1799	Rámnáth Rái.
Mukimpur	„ 25,347	25-2-1799	Ditto.
Nasíbsháhi	„ 16,937	25-2-1799	Bhairab Náth Rái.
Sátor	„ 39,968	28-2-1799	Sibprasád Rái.
Naldi	„ 66,760	23-3-1799	Bhairab Náth Rái.

Smaller parts were also sold in the same year. The sales took place in Jessor because Bhushná was added to that district in 1793. The other large estates of the Ráj shared the same fate as Bhushná. The largest purchasers of those estates was Kálísankar Rái, the friend and *Ijárádár* of the Mahárájá Rámkrishna. Parganá Pukhariá was purchased by the Chaudhrís of Maimansingh and other parties. Dihí Arpára by Kenáram Mukharji of Gobarángá, Dihí Kanespur and Dihí Sarúppur by Gopímohan Thákur the ancestor of the Thákur family.

The permanent settlement precipitated the ruin of the Nátor Ráj. Based upon the *Lawázimá papers* of the Zamíndári sarishta and the records of the Kánúngos as well as the previous periodical settlements, it assumed a rental in excess of the reality. It formed an exaggerated estimate of the resources of zamíndáris and assessed them at a rate far beyond their power. The estimate of the local officer or rather of the Sarishtadár was generally sanctioned by the Sadr Board and the Government, the former seldom making an enquiry.

It is mentioned in the Fifth Report of the Select Committee—that “they (the Court of Direction) censured the ineffectual attempts that had been made to increase the assessment of revenue, whereby the Zamíndárs (or hereditary superintendents of the land) had been taxed to make room for the introduction of farmers, sazawuls and ámins who having no permanent interest in the lands had drained the country of its resources. They disapproved the rule, recently established, which prohibited the Collector from having any concern in the formation of the settlement of his district; and noticed the heavy arrears outstanding on the settlement of the last four years, which had been formed under the immediate direction of the Committee of Revenue; and expressed their opinion, that the most likely means of avoiding such defalcations in future, would be by introducing a permanent settlement of a revenue estimated in its amount on reasonable principles, for the due payments of which the hereditary tenure of the possessor would be the best and in general the only necessary security. They therefore directed that the settlement should be made in all practicable instances with the Zamíndár; and that in cases of his established incapacity for the trust, a preference should be given to a relation or agent over a farmer. They apprehended the design of the legislature was to declare general principles of conduct; and not to introduce any novel system, or to destroy those rules and maxims of policy which prevailed in well regulated periods of the Native Government. With respect to the amount of the assessment, the Directors were of opinion, that the information already obtained might be sufficient to enable their Government in Bengal to fix it, without having

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recourse to minute local scrutinies; and they suggested the average of former years' collections to be the guide on the present occasion; and on this point concluded their instructions with remarking that "a moderate jama or assessment, regularly and punctually collected, unites the consideration of our interest with the happiness of the natives and security of the land-holders, more rationally than any imperfect collection of an exaggerated jama to be enforced with severity and vexation."

Though the permanent settlement has been declared to be the *Magna Charta* of the Zamíndárs, yet it did not in the beginning prove to them such an unmitigated blessing as is generally supposed. The assessment of several of the large estates, and notably of the Nátor Ráj, was excessive as shown by the settlement given by Mr. Westland in his report on Jessor. Yusafpur was settled at Rs. 3,02,372, that is, about Rs. 5,000 more than the demand of the previous year (taking sáyer deductions into account); the Sayyidpur estate was made to pay Rs. 90,583 or Rs. 2,000 more than the previous year. The natural and inevitable result of the settlement was the inability of the Zamíndárs to meet the increased Government demand and their impoverishment. It is no wonder that the administration of Rámkrishna is a blurred record of arrears of revenue, of sale of estates, of decadence and ruin.

There is no doubt that the permanent settlement has improved the old Rájás and Zamíndárs off the face of the land and has substituted in their stead a different class of men,—men of active business habits who have risen in life from small beginnings—men who have been Sadrmates and Banians—Dealers in shares and Government Securities—men who are desirous of exchanging their funded wealth for the profit and prestige arising from the possession of landed wealth.

Mr. George Dallas was one of the earliest Collectors of Rájsháhi, but he tendered his resignation in the beginning of the year 1786. On the 19th January of that year, his resignation was accepted, and Mr. P. Speke was appointed Collector in his stead. On the 4th February 1786, Mr. Speke took over charge of the collections of the districts as also the balance of cash in the Treasury, amounting to Sic. Rs. 89,028-8.

Mr. Henckell was appointed Collector, Judge and Magistrate of Nátor in 1789. It was during his time that the permanent settlement came into operation. He was a very intelligent and clear-headed officer and completed the settlement to the satisfaction of the Government, but he was not satisfied himself, inasmuch as he knew that the information at his disposal was scanty. He was the innocent cause of the down-fall of the house of Nátor. With the ablest management the Mahárájá Rámkrishna could not have paid the amount of revenue at which he was assessed

under the permanent settlement, but being a wretched manager he could only wait patiently and passively witness his ruin.

During the time the chiefs of Nátor exercised criminal powers, crime was considerably repressed. Regulations and Acts, Penal Codes and Procedures there were none, and if they had existed, they would have been ignored and over-ridden. What was wanted and what was administered was sharp and summary justice. The remains of a jail and the spot where the gibbet had stood attest the activity as well as severity with which the criminal authority of the Rájás of Nátor was exercised. But during the English *régime* all this was changed. The Rájás were deprived of the powers of magistrate, and a single officer was appointed as Magistrate, Judge and Collector of Nátor. The consequence was that he had more to do than he could perform. As a Magistrate he had to deal summarily with petty offences and commit the grave ones such as burglary, dacoity, and murder for trial to the Court of Circuit. As a Collector he had to look to the collection and administration of revenue. As a Judge he was the head of the Judicial Department and had to revise and overlook the decisions of the Munsifs or Commissioners as they were then called. Being overwhelmed with these multifarious avocations and ignorant of the language and customs of the country, he was both unable and incompetent to hunt out crime.

In the time of Mahárájá Rámkrishna crime was very rife, there was little or no security of life and property. Thefts, burglary, and dacoity were very prevalent. Among the dacoits Panditá, Kártiká and Fathu may be mentioned as the principal; Jitu was another sardár dacoit and murderer. The connivance and collusion of the Police, and the assistance and protection afforded by the Náibs and Gumáshtás of the Zamíndárs enabled the dacoits to pursue their nefarious avocations with impunity. Not only the zamíndári Amlá but several petty land-holders were *Thangídárs* or receivers of stolen property; and as they were in the habit of melting down gold and silver ornaments as soon as they came into possession of the same, it was difficult to indentify the articles. Several families in Sulop and other villages in Rájsháhi accumulated wealth by Thangídári. The ignorance and the negligence of the Magistrate as well as his utter want of experience of the manners and customs of the people, was another cause of the security enjoyed by the dacoits and murderers. The Sarishtadár was often the *de facto* Magistrate, and his master was a tool in his hands. He could not only "decree and dismiss" in civil cases, but acquit prisoners charged with the gravest offence. Of the power and influence of the Sarishtadár to suppress complaints and prevent their being brought to a decision, the following instance is given by Mr. E. Strachey, the third Judge of the Calcutta Court of Circuit.

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It appears that the Sarishtadár and one Rahímuddín monopolised all magisterial power and sheltered several sardár dacoits who were their rayats. Referring to these two men, Mr. Strachey says "I mention this, to introduce a more daring instance of their interference, which, with the facts of their mufassal connection with dacoits, leaves no doubt in my mind that these two men are the chief causes of the dacoity here, and the chief obstacles to its suppression. Anup Munshí, who is not friendly to Rahímuddín, or the Sarishtadár, seized Atá, a notorious dacoit of Panditá's gang, an inhabitant of Sonádighí, which belongs to the Sarishtadár and Rahímuddín, and appears to be a nest of dacoits. Atá confessed to the Dárogá, three dacoities, two of them attended with burning; and he was sent to the Magistrate, who took evidence of his confession, and instead of committing the prisoner, as he usually does in such cases, ordered the proceedings to be kept with those of Jhámprá and others. The Magistrate does not know why they were joined with Jhámprá's; probably it was, because Atá was of the same gang as Jhámprá; this happened in February. Among the proceedings held in April in the case of Fathu and others, notorious dacoits, it is said in the examination of some of the witnesses, 'the witness then looking at Atá, who was apprehended on another charge, said this Atá is a notorious dacoit.' In fact there was no charge against Atá that had been joined with Jhámprá's case, and the Magistrate can give no account of the introduction of Atá among the prisoners in Fathu's."

"On the 2nd of May, without any further evidence for or against Atá is an order on Jhámprá's case, in the record of which was the confession of Atá, stating that there was nothing proved against Atá, but that as there was another charge against him, he must not be released till that should be decided. On the 4th of May the case of Fathu was brought on, and among the prisoners was Atá, placed there, I suppose by a trick of the Amlá that he might be regularly discharged; for there was nothing against him—then order was passed for the commitment of Fathu and others, and for the release of the other prisoners; so Atá escaped."

The same officer thus reports to the Sadr Court the prevalence of crime in Rájsháhi.

1. "It is with much diffidence that I address the Nizámat Adálat on the present occasion for I have to propose measures, the nature of which they are, I know, generally averse to."

2. "As the Nizámat Adálat, the Government, and the people of the country look to the Judges of Circuit, as well as to the Magistrates, for the establishment of an efficient Police, I consider it to be my duty to call the attention of the superior court to this subject."

3. "I do not wait till the end of the circuit, when, in the course of official routine, I should have to make a report to the court; because the evil which I complain of is great and increasing, and every instant of delay serves only to furnish new victims to the atrocities which are daily practised."

4. "That dacoity is very prevalent in Rájsháhi, has been often stated; but if its vast extent were known, if the scenes of horror, the murders, the burnings, the excessive cruelties, which are continually perpetrated here were properly represented to Government, I am confident that some measures would be adopted to remedy the evil; certainly there is not an individual belonging to the Government who does not anxiously wish to save the people from robbery and massacre, yet the situation of the people is not sufficiently attended to. It cannot be denied that, in point of fact, there is no protection for persons or property; and that the present wretched, mechanical, inefficient system of Police is a mere mockery."

5. "The dacoits know much better than we how to preserve their power; they have with great success established a respect for their order, by speedy, certain and severe punishments, and by judicious arrangements for removing obstacles and for facilitating the execution of their plans."

6. "Such is the state of things which prevails in most of the Zilas in Bengal; but in this, it is much worse than in any other I have seen. I am fully persuaded that no civilised country ever had so bad a Police, as that which Rájsháhi has at present."

This report is dated Nátor, 13th June 1808, and addressed to Mr. William Butterworth Bayley, the then registrar of the Sadr Court.

In another report dated Murshidábád, Zila Rájsháhi, 19th August 1808, Mr. Strachey thus describes the organisation of a band of dacoits. "What does a gang of dacoits consist of? There is the Sardár; the leader of the party when he is present, and their director when he is absent. He is a professed robber and murderer. He is not only the conductor of the atrocities that are committed, but he is the point of union of many inferior criminals. He finds recruits for his party not only by accepting the services of wretches like himself, but he has recourse to persuasion, to force and to terror: some of his party are pressed to carry bundles or torches; some are severely beat; some threatened with death; some with dacoity, if they refuse to join. Many thus initiated against their inclination, are gradually corrupted, till the greatest crimes are familiar to them, and they become at last hardened dacoits. A gang of dacoits, then, does not consist entirely of professed robbers; many of the party are poor, honest industrious people who are seized for the service of the night; some assist

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willingly but not actively; and some are regularly established robbers. Is it right that so heterogeneous a set as this would be jumbled together, and be all liable to the same punishment? It is the duty of the legislature to protect those ignorant and helpless creatures, who cannot protect themselves:—one part of the system should not denounce against an unfortunate wretch, death or other exceedingly severe punishment for a crime, which owing to the defects of another part of the system he is compelled to commit. If you refuse him protection, and leave him to the uncontrolled power of robbers and murderers will you inflict severe punishment on him, after the offence has been forced upon him? If you could not check that power, how could he resist it? But the duty of the legislator is not confined to this coarser sort of protection, he must consider that this is a weak and ignorant race, and it is a duty to save them from temptation, to prevent corruption from spreading around them; and if this duty is neglected and crimes are generated in consequence, with what justice can the criminal be punished?"

We thus see that those whose duty it was to put down crime encouraged it by every means in their power for their lawless gain. We see corruption pervading every grade of the Police establishment: the *Dároghás*, the *Jamadárs*, the *Muharrirs*, the *Barkandázes* and the *Chaukidárs*. We see the Magistrate was overwhelmed with work. The consequence was, the people preferred quiet submission to extortion and robbery as a lesser evil than the operation of the Police. The union of the offices of Magistrate and Collector in the same person operated most prejudicially in the performance of the Police duty. Referring to this evil, *Bábu Dwáráká-náth Thákur* in his evidence before the Police Committee says, "the first and principal Judges of the *Mufassal Courts* are the *Amlá*, who lead the inexperienced Judges as they pleased." *Mr. W. P. Grant* observes: "We hear a great deal of the excellence of the East India Company's Government, and the improvement which has taken place in the country since it has been under them. I firmly believe that their Government continued to exist only because it is better than that of the *Mughul* was, and with the exception of the Government of the *Mughul*, I think the Company's Government the worst I ever knew."

With a view to put down dacoity, *Mr. Strachey* recommends that while the leaders of the gang should be severely dealt with, their followers should not be punished indiscriminately, but that preventive and not punitive measures should be resorted to in respect to them. He also recommends that criminal Judges should be appointed from no other consideration than that of the fitness of the man for the place.

Among the officers who served with distinction in *Nátor* as

Judges and Magistrates may be mentioned James Pattle, James Grant and Mr. Duncan Campbell.

In those happy-go-lucky days, when the Amlá exercised irresponsible power, the following characteristic example will be interesting. Muhammad Zamán Khán, originally an inhabitant of Bardwán, was the Názir of the Fauzdári Court and in that capacity accumulated large wealth and bequeathed it to his son Chaudhrí Dost Muhammad Khán, who set himself up as an independent gentleman and bought several Zamíndáris. He however bore his faculties very meekly and was a very courteous and gentlemanly person. His eldest son Muhammad Alí Khán was learned in the Kurán, and was a pious and abstemious person. His son Rashid Miyán now represents the family.

On the 6th March 1793, Mr. J. H. Harington, the Commissioner of the Rájsháhi Division, being unable to realise from Mahárájá Rámkrishna the revenue due from him had him confined in a suitable place "under the guard of Sepoys instructed to treat him with all due regard to his situation as well as to allow free access to his officers and servants." The Commissioner vested the temporary charge of his estate in Rámjímall as Sarbaráhkár on his part during his imprisonment. The aggregate sum due from the Mahárájá after deducting the payments already made by him, was Sa. Rs. 2,68,842-15-14, (*viz.*, Rs. 1,70,335, account Nij Rájsháhi, and Rs. 98,507-15-14, account Bhitariá, Bhushná and the Bogá Mahals). The Commissioner having reported the above circumstance to the Board, the latter wrote back as follows:—"We approve your having put the Rájá in confinement conformably to the Regulations and of your having vested the management of his estate in Rámjímall, to whom you will afford every necessary assistance to secure the realization of the sums now remaining outstanding." But on the 15th March 1793, the Governor-General gave the Mahárájá further time for the payment of the Government demand, and authorised the Commissioner to release him "in the event of his executing an engagement to pay the balance of this *kist*." On the 18th March the Mahárájá executed the engagement and was released. But being unable to fulfill his engagement in due date, a portion of his estate was sold, pursuant to previous advertisement. Thus commenced the dismemberment of the Nátor Ráj. The estates first sold were the following:—Parganá Patládah, Parganá Ambári, Kismat, Parganá Kotwáli, Chaughariá Mánikdi.

The Mahárájá being convinced of the necessity of letting out his estates at a fixed jama in perpetuity as the only means of paying off the Government demand, applied to the authorities for their sanction, but it was withheld "as coming under the prohibition against Istimráris." There being then neither per-

manent settlement nor Pattaní tenure, the Board expressed the following opinion regarding the application of the Mahárájá :—
 “ If, however, it be only his intention to grant leases, fixing the rent for the period of his own engagement with the Government, he is of course at liberty to do so, but with regard to your affixing your signature to any engagement between the Zamíndár and his under renters, we are of opinion that it is liable to objection.”

In 1822 the Zila or the fiscal, criminal and chief judicial courts were removed from Nátor to Rámpur Boáliyá owing to the low and unhealthy situation of the former. The Judges of the Provincial Court of Appeal and Circuit for the Division of Murshidábád, under orders of the Government of Bengal, called upon Mr. J. A. Pringle, the Judge and Magistrate of Rájsháhi, to report upon a new site where the civil station may be removed from Nátor. Mr. Pringle in his report, dated 23rd April 1822, stated that he had examined the ground in the vicinity of Nawábganj and Boaliyá, and believed it to be a central spot, a populous place and well adapted for the civil station. On this the Provincial Court, wrote to Mr. Secretary Holt Mackenzie, “ that in our opinion there is land in the vicinity of Boáliyá calculated for the erection of the civil buildings of Rájsháhi.” The proposition of the Provincial Court having received the sanction of the Government, the civil station was removed to Rámpur Boáliyá. But the Padmá has recently swept away most of the civil buildings, and the civil station has been further removed to the vicinity of Nawábganj.

Of the Magistrates who sat on the Bench at Rámpur Boáliyá, the following gentlemen may be mentioned as having displayed conspicuous ability and zeal : Mr. Vibart, Mr. F. J. Halliday, Mr. Loch and Mr. Swinton. Mr. Vibart was an energetic detective officer. Mr. Halliday was a very clever officer, conducting the duties alternately of the Collector and the Magistrate. While he sat as a Collector he spoke Bengali fluently, but as Magistrate he spoke Urdu. Mr. Loch, now a Judge of the High Court, was also an able officer. He was succeeded by Mr. A. A. Swinton, who was a zealous and conscientious officer and threw his whole heart into his work. After the separation of the offices of Magistrate and Collector, Mr. A. Forbes proved one of the ablest Collectors, and his reports on *Batwára* and other subjects evinced a thorough knowledge of the revenue administration. Among the Judges Mr. G. C. Cheap may be considered one of the cleverest and most experienced officers. He presided over the Judicial Department for many years and was the Nestor of the District. He was the son of the Mr. Cheap who was the Commercial Resident of the Hon'ble East India Company and resided at Súrúl in Bírghúm. Mr. Cheap was very hos-

pitable and a hail-fellow-well-met with both officials and non-officials.

Biswanáth the quondam proprietor of Bhushná succeeded his father Rámkrishna. But his inheritance which at one time comprised the most magnificent estate in Bengal, now consisted of only *debottar* lands. The most remarkable act of his life was his change from one phase of Hindu religion to another. His ancestors had been *Sáktas*, and he himself had been a confirmed worshipper of *Sákti*, but he became a Vaishnava.

Biswanáth had three wives, namely, Rání Krishnamani, Rání Govindamani, and Rání Jaymani. The two former following the example of their husband, renounced *Sákt*taism and embraced Vaishnavism. But Rání Jaymani refused to secede from *Sákt*taism and migrated to Murshidábád where she settled. Biswanáth died without male issue, but in accordance with the *Anumati patra* or deed of permission, Rání Krishnamani adopted a son named Govinda Chandra. Rání Jaymani also adopted a son.

Govinda Chandra succeeded his father Biswanáth, but he lived only a few years. During his last illness he executed two deeds, namely, *Dattak patra* authorizing his wife to adopt a son, and *Katritta patra* in favour of his mother Rání Krishnamani, vesting in her the management of the estate.

On the death of her son Govinda Chandra, Rání Krishnamani assumed the management of the estate. She was a very able woman and evinced great capacity for business. Her efforts to rescue the residue of the estate from being swallowed up by litigation and rival claims were unceasing and at last crowned with success. Govinda Chandra was succeeded by his adopted son Govindanáth. The validity of the adoption of Govindanáth by Rání Shibeswarí being contested during the life time of Rání Krishnamani, the case was first heard in the Court of Rájsháhi, and the Presiding Judge Mr. Louis Jackson pronounced against the adoption. But the High Court reversed the judgment of the lower tribunal and held the adoption to be valid. The Privy Council have just confirmed the decision of the High Court. But Rání Krishnamani and Govindanáth had died when the decision of the Privy Council was telegraphed. The one could not witness the success of her exertions, nor the other enjoy the fruits of the property adjudicated to him after such a protracted litigation.

The judgment of the High Court was affirmed by the Privy Council on the 8th June 1872. The case for the Bara Taraf is thus described by the Privy Council :—

“It appears that Govinda Chandra died in 1836, having the Ráj in full right and possession.

“He died leaving his mother Krishnamani, his wife, who was

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then about the age of 20, and an infant daughter about two years old, and it is material to bear in mind this state of his family in weighing the presumptions which arise from the subsequent conduct of the parties.

"The Rájá Govinda Chandra had himself been adopted into this family by Krishnamani in the year 1814, and he came of age in 1829. During his minority Krishnamani managed the property, and there were disputes between the Rájá and his adoptive mother which when he came of age, led to what has been called by the learned counsel for the appellant 'exasperated litigation.' There can be no doubt that there was fierce litigation between the mother and the adopted son. In that litigation insults were heaped by one upon the other, and the fair result of the evidence seems to be that they continued for a considerable time in a state of hostility. From conversation held with the Rájá himself, it appeared that only a short time before his death he was not on visiting terms with his mother. She had left the palace at Nátor and had gone to live at Sayyidábád on the other side of the Ganges. But although that state of hostility between mother and son is proved beyond all dispute by the evidence, it is also proved and, with equal certainty to the minds of their Lordships, that on the eve of his death the Rájá became sincerely desirous of seeing his mother and becoming reconciled with her. He was taken ill some few days before the 9th of December. On the 9th of December, or, as one witness says, on the day before the 9th, he was told that his illness was serious, and on the morning of the 9th, when several family physicians were present, when one of his relatives, Hariprasád, the father of his young wife was also present, the evidence is that the deeds which are now in dispute were executed, attested one by nine and the other by eleven witnesses, and the deed of adoption (*Anumati patra*) given by the Rájá to Hariprasád, who at once delivered it to his daughter, the Rájá's wife, who was behind the screen in the same room. The other deed the Rájá put in his seal box, intending himself to take it to his mother.

"Their Lordships having given very careful consideration to the evidence in this case, have come to the conclusion that the judgment of the High Court is perfectly right; that there is direct evidence of the execution of the instruments, which is, if not so clear as to remove all doubt, at least so satisfactory that in the absence of contrary evidence or very strong presumptions to the contrary it ought to prevail. Their Lordships also think that whilst the direct evidence is satisfactory, the presumptions which exist on the one side and on the other, when they come to be weighed, very strongly preponderate in favour of the execution of these deeds.

"Several witnesses have been called who were present when these deeds were executed, and in considering the witnesses who were called, and the absence of witnesses, the length of time which had elapsed from the period when the deeds were executed to the time of the enquiry must be borne in mind. The deeds were executed in December 1836; and these witnesses were examined before Mr. Jackson in 1860, 25 years after the event.

"The Privy Council thus concludes that the judgment of the High Court on the question of succession is right; that decision will dispose of the two appeals of Rájá Chandra Náth Rái. They will therefore advise Her Majesty to dismiss those appeals with costs, they will only advise Her Majesty wholly to affirm the decree of the High Court made on appeal in the suit originally brought by Ananda Náth, No. 28 of 1861, and also to affirm the decree of the High Court made on appeal in the suit originally constituted by Krishnamani Deví against the Collector of Murshidábád, and others in 1849, in which Ananda Náth Rái intervened so far as the question of succession is concerned."

Govindanáth was one of nature's noblemen. He was instinctively polite and invariably attentive to the wants and wishes of others, he was respected and loved by those who came into intimate and familiar contact with him. But unfortunately he died a premature death. Both before and since his demise his mother Rání Sibeswari has assumed the management of the estate. Like her mother-in-law Rání Krishnamani, she has shown an aptitude for business. She has been indefatigable in saving the zamíndáris and enhancing their profits.

It may be here noticed as the great peculiarity of the Nátor family that the women have been immeasurably superior to the men. While the male members have been mediocrities, the female members have been celebrities. The Maharání Bhabání was an extraordinary woman and exhibited business talent of the highest order. She occupied a proud and prominent position among her contemporaries. Rání Krishnamani was endowed with more than average capacity, and her efforts as well as those of Rání Sibeswari, for the salvation of the estate, evinced rare capacity and unflagging energy.

During the time of Biswanáth, the Nátor family was divided into two branches, viz., the senior and the junior, or the Bara Taraf and Chhota Taraf. Sibnáth, younger brother of Biswanáth, represented the Chhota Taraf. His son, the late Rájá Ananda Náth Rái, was a sharp and shrewd man and won his way to rank and distinction. He was orthodox and conservative, and at first was wedded to old world prejudices and generally opposed to reforms. He did his best in rendering ineffectual the efforts of the Deputy Magistrate for the introduction of the first Municipal Act,

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and generally was antagonistic to reformatory movements, but he subsequently rose above the prejudices of his nursery and inaugurated several undertakings, aiming at the good of the public. At Rámpur Boáliyá he erected at a cost of Rs. 10,000 a building for a Library and supplied the books at his own expense. The Library is called after his name. He received from the Government the title of Rájá Bahádur and was also made a C.S.I.

Rájá Ananda Náth died in 1866, leaving four sons ; the eldest son, Chandranáth, was two years ago invested with the title of " Rájá Bahádur," and has just been appointed an *Attaché* of the Foreign Office of the Government of India. It is to be hoped that he will in this capacity open a new path of distinction for himself and for his countrymen.

We shall now carry our readers to the Dighápatiá Ráj, the history of which is interwoven with that of the Nátor Ráj. We have already seen the founder of it Dayáram Rái, proving the good genius of the early chiefs of Nátor and the salvation of the Nátor estate. We have seen him winning the favour of the Nawáb by the courage, activity, and fidelity with which he executed the commissions entrusted to him and receiving from His Excellency the title of *Rái Ráyán*. We have seen him the chief mover and main spring of the charities of the Nátor family. After his retirement from the service he established several charities in his own estates. In those days the acquisition of the English language and English literature was not as now the passport to wealth and distinction. The Bengali language had not been enriched and it was not thought worth while to cultivate it. The cultivation of the Sanskrit language was then the one thing needful for scholars and gentlemen, and the Rájás and Chiefs of the country thought it their duty to encourage it. Accordingly Dayáram established several *Chatushpáthís* in Rájsháhi. He founded several religious establishments, namely, the idol Krishna Chandra at Muhammadpur in Jessor, another named Gopál Deb at Binadin in Murshidábád ; he also founded in his Rájbarí at Dighápatiá three separate idols, namely, Krishnají, Govindjí, and Gopál. He endowed these establishments with lands. He did his best in supplying the poor with water. He excavated a large Díghí at Gorphu and another at Háguria. He excavated several tanks in his zamíndáris and also a Chaukí or moat around his Rájbarí.

Dayáram was an uncommon man and stood out from the mass of his countrymen as a leader and a guide. He was an illustration of what Goethe says, " we will not say that man is the creature of circumstance ; it would be nearer the mark to say man is the architect of circumstances. Our strength is measured by our plastic power. From the same materials one man builds

palaces, another hovels, one ware-houses, another villas ; bricks and mortar are bricks and mortar until the architect makes them something else."

The estates Dayáram acquired were as follows :—1.—Taraf Nandkujá in Parganá Bháturiá. 2.—Taraf Dumráí, including Nakhilá situated partly in Bagurá and partly in Maimansingh. 3.—Taraf Maul Kalná and Taraf Bharsut situated in Zila Jessor. 4.—Taraf Salímpur situated in Zila Nadiyá. Taraf Dumrai is unquestionably the most profitable property of the family ; when it was first let out in *ijará* to Mr. John C. Abbot, it only yielded Rs. 35,000, but thanks to his good management, the accretion of the river and increased cultivation, it now yields Rs. 1,75,000 per annum.

Dayáram Rái died, leaving six children, namely, one son and five daughters ; the son Jagannáth Rái succeeded his father but he died a premature death. He had sixteen children, but fifteen of them died successively. The surviving son Pránnáth Rái succeeded his father. He was a very charitable person and celebrated his mother's *Sráddha* with great *éclat*. He was succeeded by his adopted son Prasannanáth Rái who infused new blood into the family and proved an extraordinary man, achieving for himself the most conspicuous position among the contemporaneous Zamíndárs and Rájás, and standing out from them as a singularly liberal and benevolent representative of the Nobility of Bengal. He was educated in the Zila School at Rámpur Boáliyá, but did not remain long to acquire a mastery of the English language. But nature supplied him with what he lacked in school learning. He was endowed with a strong common sense and an intimate knowledge of human nature. He could thoroughly appreciate the merits and demerits of those with whom he was brought into intimate and familiar contact. After leaving school he fell into a bad set of Europeans, who tried to tempt him to sensual indulgences and fleece him, but he soon shook off their influence and learned to think and judge for himself. He at last stumbled into the right path and found for himself a field for active usefulness.

At about this time the Sub-divisional system having come into operation, Government determined on establishing a sub-division at Nátor the former sadr station of Rájsháhi, as it continued to be the seat of the nobility and gentry of the district. Owing to the removal of the civil station, the Jail, the Kachhárís, and the dwelling houses of the Officers were left to decay and were in a state of complete dilapidation, when a sub-division was established in Nátor. At first Mr. Elphinstone Jackson was deputed to Nátor, but he did not like the place and stopped there a few days only. In 1848, a Hindu gentleman who had served as an Assistant Magistrate for two years in Rámpur Boáliyá, was appointed Deputy Magistrate of Nátor, and vested with the full powers of a

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Magistrate. He organized the sub-division, comprising the most populous and important portion of Rájsháhi. In the Schools, Dispensaries, Horticultural Exhibitions and other Institutions established by him at Nátor, he received valuable assistance from Planters and Zamíndárs, and especially from the late Prasannanáth Rái, the richest as well as the most benevolent individual in the district.* The Commissioner, the Judge, the Magistrate and the Civil Surgeon heartily supported him in his efforts to ameliorate the condition of the people, and frequently visited him in his station.

The Deputy Magistrate submitted to the Ferry Fund Committee of Rájsháhi a proposal for making a carriage road from Dighápatia to Boáliyá, and laid before them an approximate estimate of the cost. While the proposition was under consideration Prasannanáth Rái came forward with an offer to the Deputy Magistrate for defraying the entire expenses of the road.

TO THE DEPUTY MAGISTRATE OF NA'TOR,

Beaulia.

SIR,

Being deeply impressed with the conviction that a good road from Diggaputia to Beaulia, would prove a great boon to the district, and understanding that the local subscriptions and the sum of Rs. 7,000 sanctioned by the Government for the repair of the road and the erection of the bridges will be inadequate for the proposal, I therefore request the favour of your communicating to the Ferry Fund Committee, my offer to pay the whole expenses for the road and bridges.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

DIGGAPUTTIA ;
The 25th June 1850. }

Your most obedient Servant,
(Sd.) PROSONOAUTH ROY.

The offer was thankfully accepted and the amount paid by the public-spirited Zamíndár was Rs. 35,000. The road was first extended from Boáliyá to Nátor, but has since been further extended to Dighápatia, a distance of three miles.

The time has now arrived for taking an educational survey of Rájsháhi.

* When the Office of Deputy Magistrate was first created, a superior class of young men was appointed to it. They were picked persons of birth and education, cadets of leading families and distinguished alumni of the Hindu College who made their stations the centres of new life and light. This class was afterwards

supplemented by an admixture of Sarishtadárs and Peshkárs, Dárogas and Muharrirs, *et hoc genus omne*. The reason of the appointment of the latter persons was their local experience ; but the efficiency and respectability of the Uncovenanted Civil Service has much suffered.

In 1835 Lord William Bentinck appointed Mr. William Adam, as Government Commissioner to conduct enquiries into the state of native education, regarding them to be the first step "to know with all attainable accuracy the present state of instruction in the native institutions and native society." Mr. Adam was eminently qualified for the task. Deeming it impracticable to traverse the entire surface of every district, and personally to inspect the state of education in every tháná and village, he restricted his personal enquiries to a thorough examination of the state of education in one of the principal thánás or country towns of each district, which might be accepted as a fair sample of the whole, taking care at the same time, to ascertain the state of education generally in the other thánás and towns. In accordance with this plan, he conducted his enquiries in six districts, and in one city, namely, that of Murshidábád. His returns are the most reliable of the kind hitherto obtained in this country, and comprise a mass of valuable information illustrative of the moral and intellectual condition of the people. Nátor, formerly the capital or sadr station of Rájsháhi, and now the most important subdivision of that district, was selected by Mr. Adam for the commencement of his educational survey. Now, as we have had ample opportunities of ascertaining the educational condition of the people, we are well able to appreciate the fidelity of the picture of literary destitution presented by him. He says that the "Bengali Schools in Nátor are ten in number, containing 167 scholars, who enter school at an age varying from five to ten years, and leave it at an age varying from ten to sixteen. The teachers consist both of young and middle-aged men, for the most part simple-minded, but poor and ignorant, and therefore having recourse to an occupation which is suitable both to their expectations and attainments, and on which they reflect as little honour as they derive emolument from it." There were those who believed that Mr. Adam erred in one important detail, namely, the comparative numbers of the Hindu and Muhammadan population. But the late census corroborates the calculations of the educational Commissioner. It shows that the Muhammadans of Rájsháhi exceed a million, while the Hindus are less than two hundred and ninety thousand. The proportion is almost that of four to one in favour of Muhammadans. We entirely agree with him in thinking that the proportion of Muhammadan to Hindu children receiving instruction is less than one to four. In most of the districts of Bengal, we have found a similar disproportion to prevail; and it may be sufficiently accounted for by the fact that the Muhammadans constitute the bulk of the rayats, coolies, and Jáliyás, who are unable from their condition in life to secure

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for themselves or their children any education however rudimentary.

Mr. Adam thus impressively sums up the results of his enquiries at Nátor :—"The conclusions to which I have come on the state of ignorance, both of the male and female, the adult and the juvenile population of this district, require only to be distinctly apprehended in order to impress the mind with their importance. No declamation is required for that purpose. We cannot, however, expect that the reading of the report should convey the impressions which we have received from daily witnessing the mere animal life to which ignorance consigns its victims, unconscious of any wants or enjoyments beyond those which they participate with the beasts of the field, unconscious of any of the higher purposes for which existence has been bestowed,—society has been constituted and government is exercised. We are not acquainted with any facts which permit us to suppose that in any other country subject to an enlightened Government, and brought into direct and immediate contact with European civilisation, in an equal population there is an equal amount of ignorance with that which has been shown to exist in this district." And Rájsháhi was not a backward or an exceptionally illiterate district. It was and is occupied by an industrious and intelligent population ; it boasts of several influential Rájás and large Zamíndárs, and is the seat of an extensive trade in silk and cereals. In 1835 when Mr. Adam visited the district, there was no well-organised English school.

The Rájsháhi of Mr. Adam is only an average specimen of all the districts of Bengal. Similar enquiries in the other localities selected by him led to nearly similar results exhibiting a vast and nearly illimitable intellectual waste.

It thus appears that the aggregate average under instruction of the teachable population of the districts is only $7\frac{3}{4}$ per cent., thus leaving $92\frac{1}{4}$ out of every 100 children destitute of any instruction whatever. Our readers can now realise the enormous amount of educational destitution of Bengal 32 years ago. It is not to be wondered at that, while ignorance was so extensive, organised crime should have prevailed so universally, and Government should have been unable to reckon with confidence on the support of the community. Knowledge is not only power *but* is a source of safety to the State, while ignorance is a source of weakness and danger to it. Of this truth, the sepoy insurrection affords a striking illustration. The moral and intellectual enlightenment of the people of this country cannot be effected without additional security being thereby given against delusions such as those which shook in 1857 the empire to its foundation. It has been so ordained by the Almighty and Beneficent Author of our being that the development of the mental faculties with which he has endowed us cannot be effected

without dispersing those prejudices and errors which menace the peace of society as well as of individuals.

Soon after this investigation a zila school was established and placed in charge of Bábu Sáradáprasád Bose, who proved an able and successful head-master. The school has produced several excellent and successful young men, of whom Bábu Kunjalál Bánarji, the Judge of the Small Cause Court of Calcutta, Bábu Siba Prasád Sannyál, a Deputy Magistrate of 24-Parganás, and Bábu Rudrakánta Láhuri, the late Díwán of the Di-ghápatíá Ráj, may be mentioned. In 1847, Bábu Loknáth Maitri founded an Anglo-Vernacular school at Rámpur Boáliyá. In 1851, a school was established at Nátor by the Deputy Magistrate of that sub-division. It was afterwards amalgamated with the Prasanna Náth Academy, which was inaugurated on the 24th January 1852. There was a large gathering of the European and Native gentry of the district on the occasion. The Deputy Magistrate having been voted to the chair rose and said, "Gentlemen, I thank you for the honour you have done me in voting me to the chair, and though I could wish you had selected an abler person to fill it, yet I must not shrink from the duty you have imposed on me. I welcome you, gentlemen, a right hearty welcome, to this hall in the name of the enlightened proprietor of the institution, whose inauguration we are assembled to celebrate in the name of the pupils who have this day been admitted there, and in the name of the great cause of education. I conceive it is the duty of every person interested in the welfare of the country, especially of every Native, to endeavour his best to promote that cause. The happiness and prosperity of the people are intimately connected with it. I do not pretend to believe that education is the *panacea* for all the evils with which they are afflicted, for the disease of India is a complicated disease, and requires both moral and physical remedies. I know also that climate and centuries of Muhammadan oppression have largely contributed to produce her degradation, but I am strongly persuaded that ignorance and superstition have had more to do with it than anything else. Why is it that the people are oppressed by the zamíndárs, fleeced by the mahájans and victimised by the police? Why does the appearance of a chaprás frighten the whole village and enable its holder to extort money with impunity? Why is the tháná barkandáz so much dreaded in the mufassal that when he is deputed to investigate a death by snake bite, or drowning, his threat to report it as murder and *chalán* the villagers to the *huzúr* as implicated in its commission and concealment, elicits a bribe from them? Why? but because the people are ignorant of their rights. Teach them their rights and they will assert them manfully. Give them knowledge and

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they will realise the Baconian aphorism. Educate them and they will cease to be oppressed and trampled upon. There are, however, those who contend that education would unfit the people for their position in life ; but it is not a liberal but a sound and industrial education that I advocate for the great mass. I would teach them *things* and not *words*. I would give a liberal education only to the patrician classes, who will have leisure enough to pursue their studies in after life and render them subservient to the intellectual enlightenment of their countrymen ; but I would inoculate the minds of every class with those generous and elevated principles of religion and morality which are recognised by all creeds and are equally necessary for all men."

" Impressed with these sentiments, I hail the establishment of the ' Prasanna Náth Academy ' as a harbinger of better days for Rájsháhi. That an opulent and influential zamíndár of this district should consecrate a portion of his resources to the maintenance and endowment of a school on such a large scale affords a cheering and auspicious illustration of the growing conviction in this country that those must hold the *masál* who are to walk by its light. Happily the patronage extended by native gentlemen to the cause of native education has ceased to be an uncommon event ; but Bábu Prasanna Náth Rái has also entitled himself to the lasting gratitude of the people of this district by another praiseworthy and public-spirited act. I allude to the Nátor road towards the repairs of which he has contributed the whole expenses, amounting to, I believe, about thirty-five thousand rupees. He has thus set a noble example of enlightened liberality to other zamíndárs. If, instead of fighting with each other to gratify old grudges, or to contest the possession of a single bighá or káthá and frittering away vast sums of money in Sráddhas and ceremonies in Náches and *Nám-ká-wáste* pújás, they were to emulate each other in performing deeds of public utility and ameliorating the condition of the prostrate and pauperised rayats who toiled for them and ministered to their comforts and luxuries ; I am sure the country would soon exhibit a different aspect. We should soon see every district boasting of its College, its Hospital, its Alms-house, and its Serai. We should see the footsore Játrís, thousands and tens of thousands of whom in hurrying to the Bhágirathí are now annually carried off by cholera, dying on the road side, uncheered by the presence and attentions of those near and dear to them, snugly sheltered under the roof of the local caravanserai. We should see the sick poor of every village receiving medical aid instead of falling victims to the empiricism of the Kabirájs. We should see the stream of knowledge permeating every corner of the country, irrigating and fertilizing the mental soil and, like ' Gangá Máyi,' carrying plenty and happiness in its irresistible and beneficent course."

The Prasanna Náth Academy has turned out several educated young men and continues to be in an efficient condition.

A dispensary at Nátor was founded in 1849 by the Deputy Magistrate of that station. At the first annual meeting of the subscribers to the dispensary, held in 1850, Dr. J. R. Bedford, who presided, pointed out to the institutions founded by the Deputy Magistrate, and compared him to the "Man of Ross." At the second annual meeting of the subscribers of the Nátor dispensary, presided over by Prasanna Náth Rái, and held on the 21st April 1851, Dr. J. R. Bedford, as Superintendent to the dispensary, addressed the following letter to the Deputy Magistrate as Secretary to that institution. "Sir, I had fully anticipated the pleasure of being present at the meeting of your committee, summoned for the 14th instant, but the existence of cholera in the jail of this station forbids my quitting it. I regret this the more from your having been good enough to alter the date of meeting for my convenience. I beg you will assure the gentlemen composing the committee of the pleasure which I feel at being associated with them in so truly charitable an undertaking as the promotion of the Nátor dispensary, and of my sincere desire to benefit the institution by every exertion in my power.

"You have the proud satisfaction of feeling that you are in advance in that mighty social change which is now working in Hindustan, and that the wheel of progress has received one of its earliest impulses from your hand, for we may rest assured that no great moral improvement of any race of people can ever be effected unless preceded by physical advantages.

"Whilst urging you onward, however, in this good course you are forwarding so zealously, you will not be discouraged if I say that, you and I, and the whole world have, until within the last few years, been beginning at the wrong end; our only end has been to cure diseases, altogether overlooking the duty of averting it. Europe is, however, happily awakening from this sleep of apathetic ignorance, and striving hard to make up for lost time. How urgently a similar course of proceeding is required for our Indian towns, none know better than ourselves. At the present time that fell scourge of your countrymen, cholera, is prostrating its victims in all directions. The hale street-labourer of to-day is the corpse of to-morrow; whole families are swept recklessly away. Are we to look on year by year, fold our hands, and do nothing? Most assuredly not. The Great Creator who permits such a plague to strike down his children, has, you may be sure, provided us with the means of combating or even exterminating so terrible a foe, in resources open to intellectual research. Its origin now is doubtless mainly to be found in the filth and dirt which flank

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every highway in our Indian cities. The remedy is to be found in the judicious application of sanitary laws,—laws which should be as rigorously enforced as those bearing upon moral evil. The source of malaria, and circumstances producing or aiding contagion should be as zealously watched as the origin of crime. The secret pestilence, which steals your child from you in the dead of night, should be as carefully guarded against as the less formidable thief who robs you of your worldly goods. By what means you ask me can such desirable measures be achieved. I reply by the institution of a strict system of Medical Police. Cleanse your streets, purify your tanks, fill up the holes near your houses, which abounding with dirt and jungle, reek with diseases and deaths in every corner. If your present local funds be sufficient for the purpose, let me urge upon you the taking advantage of Act X. of 1842, passed by a paternal Government for your benefit, and forming a Municipal Committee out of the resident householders. As you already stand forward in the race of medical improvement, let it be your boast to be first in the formation of the Municipal Institution I advert to. Once established you will find many imitators, and I venture to look forward to the time when cholera and small-pox shall be spoken of only in connection with the past.

“Should you be induced to carry out my recommendations, I can only say that it will afford me the greatest pleasure to give every possible assistance and to be your officer of health.

“I beg to return the half-yearly statement of cases receiving treatment in your dispensary, and report of the Sub-Assistant Surgeon up to September 1850.

“The first is very satisfactory as evidencing an increased appreciation by the people of the medical advantages offered them, whilst the second affords favourable proof of the ability and zeal of Bábu Chandra Kumár Maitri, in charge of the dispensary.

“I would beg to recommend his suggestion of in-door accommodation to your notice, such an addition to your charity is very essential. His inclination to avail himself of efficient native medicine is judicious and should be encouraged.”

Dr. Bedford was the earliest sanitarian in India. He enquired into the practical and scientific condition of sanitary matters in Bengal long before the breaking out of cholera at Mián Mír led the Government of India to adopt measures for the promotion of sanitary progress. He was deeply impressed with the necessity of the removal of ignorance regarding sanitary matters. He advocated the registration of deaths, the variations of climates, the prevalence of particular types of disease, and laid great stress on the clearance of jungles.

Being anxious to perpetuate the school founded by him at Dighápatíá, and the dispensary at Nátor, as well as to found and

endow another dispensary at Rámpur Boáliyá, Prasanna Náth Rái made over to the Commissioner on the 5th July 1852, a lákh of rupees for the purpose. He addressed the following letter on the subject :—

To

H. STAINFORTH, ESQ.,

Commissioner of the 14th or

Murshidábád Division, Boáliyá.

SIR,

With the view of promoting the welfare of the inhabitants of the district of Rájsháhi, I am desirous of making over to Government the sum of Co's Rs. (1,00,000) one hundred thousand in Government Promissory Notes, which amount I enclose as subjoined below for the purpose of endowing the existing charitable dispensary at Nátor, the school I have recently established at Dighápatia, and of founding a dispensary at Boáliyá, which I shall feel obliged by your accepting and administrating for me according to my expressed wishes, at the same time acknowledging the above amount by the usual receipt.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

DIGHAPATHA ; }
The 5th July, 1852. }

Your most obedient servant,

PRASANNA NATH RAI.

This generous offer having been communicated to the Government, the following letter was addressed :—

From

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL,

To

THE OFFICIATING COMMISSIONER OF REVENUE,
14th Division, Murshidábád.

Dated Fort William, the 16th July 1852.

Judicial.

SIR,

I am directed by the Most Noble the Governor of Bengal to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 177, dated the 5th instant, reporting the receipt from Bábu Prasanna Náth Rái, Zamíndár of Nandkujá, of Government Promissory Notes to the amount of a lákh of rupees, with a year's interest thereon, amounting altogether to Rs. 1,04,567-2 pie, which that gentleman desires to be devoted towards the endowment of the Charitable Dispensary at Nátor, and of the school recently established by him at Dighápatia, and also to the foundation of a Dispensary at Boáliá.

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2. The Governor of Bengal has been pleased to accept this munificent donation, and directs me to convey through you to Bábu Prasanna Náth Rái, the high sense which His Lordship entertains of his enlightened charity.

3. His Lordship approves of the measures proposed by you for carrying out the wishes of the Bábu in regard to the above Institutions, and is accordingly pleased to appoint a Committee* consisting of the officers and gentlemen named in the margin, to superintend the School and Dispensary at Nátor, and the Dispensary to be founded at Boáliyá under the rules applicable to such Institutions.

The schools and the dispensaries thus endowed by Prasanna Náth Rái will remain monuments of his philanthropy.

In recognition of the valuable services rendered by him to the cause of humanity he received from the Government the title of Rájá Bahádur. The Sanad is dated 20th April 1854, but the letter communicating the bestowal of the title is dated 17th May 1854, and is as follows :—

From

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL,

To

RAJA PRASANNA NATH RAI BAHADUR.

Dated Fort William, the 17th May 1854.

General
Political.

SIR,

I am directed by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal to inform you that the Most Noble the Governor-General of India in Council has been pleased to confer on you the title of Rájá Bahádur.

You will at the time of your investiture receive a *khilat*, consisting of the articles named in the margin.

&c., &c., &c.

(Signed) W. GREY.

The investiture was held at Government House amidst the gathering of different nationalities. The late Mahárájá of Patiálá and other Chiefs were present. The writer of this paper has a vivid recollection of the Darbár, which was one of the grandest ever held. As soon as Lord Dalhousie entered the Hall the Band struck up. When the Darbáris had resumed their

* Commissioner, Judge, Collector.
Magistrate, Civil Surgeon, *Ex-officio*.
Bábu Prasanna Náth Rái.
Bábu Loknáth Maitri.

Maulví Abdul Alí.
Bábu Gopál Lál Mitra.
Bábu Nílmani Basák.
Bábu Mathuranáth Bânarjī.

seats, the Governor-General, after a few kingly utterances, invested the Rájá Prasanna Náth Rái with the insignia of the title.

On the 10th September 1857, Rájá Prasanna Náth Rái was appointed an Assistant Magistrate in the District of Rájsháhi; and a body of Police consisting of one Jamadár and twenty Barkandázes was placed under his orders.

The career of Rájá Prasanna Náth Rái is an unanswerable refutation of the cry raised some time ago against the zamíndárs as men who have done nothing for the cause of education. We have no hesitation in declaring our conviction that the truth lies exactly in the other way. Far from having done nothing, they have done a great deal in furtherance of that cause. They have been foremost in organizing schools, libraries, dispensaries, and in promoting and extending popular education in every possible way. Their exertions in this direction have been most indefatigable and laudable, and instead of evoking the obloquy of a clique deserve the lasting gratitude of the public. Since the time of Rájá Prasanna Náth Rái hundreds of zamíndárs and educated Hindus have signalized themselves by establishing schools. To illustrate this position would be to cite the thousand and one schools with which the length and breadth of Bengal is studded. There is scarcely a station or sub-station which is without its school or dispensary. Whereas in 1855 and 1856, the year when the grant-in-aid system came into operation, the number of schools was 145, and the number of pupils attending them was 13,229, we find that in 1866-67, the number of schools increased to 2,907, and the number of pupils attending them was 1,21,108. These figures are a sufficient answer to the charge preferred against the Zémíndárs and educated natives as non-educationists, a charge which we have no hesitation in pronouncing to be a fiction. The unselfish life of the Rájá, devoted to patriotic objects, challenges our unqualified admiration. The ancestors of the Rájá Prasanna Náth Ray were no doubt charitable. But his charity was discriminating. It was not exercised on Sráddhas and Náches. It was not displayed in ostentatious manifestations. It sought proper objects and aimed at proper means.

Rájá Prasanna Nath was both a generous and a genial man. His social qualities were of a high order. He freely mixed with Europeans and was almost an Englishman in his tastes and habits. His hospitality was kept up in a fine old mufasul style. The scene where this hospitality was exercised was the Rájbári of Digghapatía which the Rájá had enlarged and decorated, having built on one side a fine *Náchghar*, and on the other a *Singhí Dalán*. He also built a magnificent gateway. The Rájbári was the rendezvous of the officials, the planters, and the zamíndárs. These reunions always took place during the

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Huli and *Jhulan* festivals, when the *Rájbári* and the compound around were beautifully illuminated, and the scene was further enlivened by rich displays of fireworks and music.

Rájá Prasanna Náth Rái died in 1861, and his demise was universally regretted, being considered a national calamity. In 1863, his adopted son, *Pramatha Náth Rái* was, under the provisions of his father's will, admitted as a boarder student at the Calcutta Wards' Institution. He was the only student of the institution who succeeded in passing the University Entrance Examination. During the time he studied at Calcutta, he was under the eye of his mother, a lady uniting rare sagacity with an overflowing benevolence. In November 1867, he attained his majority; and the first act of his majority was to erect suitable *pakhá* buildings for the accommodation of the hospital and dispensary at *Rámpur Boáliyá* at an expense of Rs 10,000, founded by his father. The Lieutenant-Governor in noticing this liberal act expressed his desire that an expression of his gratification might be communicated to *Kumár Pramatha Náth Rái* at the "earnest he has given by his liberality in this matter" of his intention to make a good use of his ample fortune. The road from *Rámpur Boáliyá* to *Dighápatíá* having fallen into disrepair, *Kumár Pramatha Náth Rái* followed the example of his father in coming forward to defray the expenses of the road.

In April 1868, he offered to endow the *Rájsháhi Girls' Aided School* with an amount yielding Rs. 180 per annum. The Lieutenant-Governor accepted the offer and acknowledged the liberality of the *Kumár* in suitable terms. In the same year he founded three scholarships for the *Girls' School* at *Boáliyá*.

In 1871, the Commissioner of the Division reported to the Government that *Kumár Pramatha Náth Ray* was one of the most intelligent and well behaved *Zámíndárs* of Lower Bengal; that he managed his *zamíndáries* admirably well, and was favourably spoken of by every person coming in contact with him. He therefore recommended that the *Kumár* should receive from the Government the title of *Rájá Bahádur*. Lord Mayo accordingly granted the Sanad.

The investiture took place at *Rámpur Boáliyá* under the auspices of the Commissioner acting as the representative of the Government. The *Rájá* has recently established at his sole expense a Charitable Dispensary at his *Kachhári* at *Nakhilá*. It has proved an inestimable boon to the sick poor of that part of the country.

There are several *Zámíndárs* in *Rájsháhi* who call themselves *Rájás*. They have certainly not been ennobled by the Government, but they possess large landed properties, on the strength of which their retainers and rayats address them as *Rájás*. Among them may

be mentioned Haranáth Chaudhri of the Sunri caste, commonly called Rájá of Dobalháti; Maheswar Rái, a high-caste Bráhmaṇ, commonly called Rájá of Táharpur; and Ruhinikánt Rái, also a Bráhmaṇ, is commonly called Rájá of Chaugangá. There is a Muhammadan family at Baghá of which the representative is called the Khánkar; he is unquestionably the rais or chief of the Muhammadan community.

The Padmá or Great Ganges touches on Rájsháhi on the south-west side and holds a course south-east for 65 miles. The Mahánandá flowing from the north continues its southerly course and falls into the Padmá at Godávári, which is a police station and a great rice mart. The other principal rivers traversing Rájsháhi are the Nárad, the Baral, the Atrái, the Jamuná and Gadái. The district is drained by a large lake called the Bhilchalan extending to about 30 miles. The peculiarity of this *bhíl* is, that it not only grows rice, but that the plants rise in proportion to the height of the water. There are two other *bhíls* called Dulábári, and Mandá. Besides these rivers and *bhíls*, the district is intersected by an infinity of jhíls and minor streams, rendering intercommunication during the rains very easy. Besides rice which is the staple crop, there are other agricultural products, such as wheat and barley, pulse and cereals; the fibrous plants and oil seeds have of late been extensively cultivated. Of fruit trees the mango may be mentioned as the principal. This is not to be wondered at, as Rájsháhi adjoins Máldah, the land of the mangoes. Sherel Motakharim, a historical narrative of India, mentions Baghá in Rájsháhi, the seat of the Khánkar, as famous for mangoes. Cocoanut does not grow in this district as it is not penetrated by sea air; there being only one garden-house at Rámpur Boáliyá, called Nimái Shaw's house where a few plants may be found. The most important manufactured articles are indigo and silk. In former days, Government carried on the manufacture of silk on a large scale. The sadr manufactory was situated at Rámpur Boáliyá, and the house is now known as the bara kuti; Mr. Robert Burney being for a long time commercial Resident. It was situated at some distance from the Padmá, but the river has now come up to its gate. It is now owned by Messrs. J. and R. Watson, who are the largest silk manufacturers and indigo planters.

The following are the marts:—Tagáchi, Táharpur, Suryapur, Sardah, Nandangáchi, Chaurghát, Pankai, Bagatipará, Galimpur, Dhobul, and Ráipur; most of these are rice marts, while others are centres of trade in *dhál* and cereals. The articles chiefly exported are linseed, musur and kansári *dhál*, sissamums, rye, and the produce of other spring crops.

The bhíls and jhíls above mentioned abound with game as

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well as fish. Of wild animals the tiger, deer, and buffalo may be mentioned. They inhabit a large jungle called the jungle of Chaplai, extending to sixteen miles.

Nátor, once the head-quarters of the largest zamíndári, has vanished, as have greater cities in India,—Gaur for example.

But the altered condition of Rájsháhi is not a source of unmitigated regret. The former state of the district contrasts in many respects strikingly with her present condition. During the days of the founder of the Nátor Ráj and his immediate successors, every thing, the buildings and the bazárs, the mandirs and minarets, conveyed an impression of wealth but not of culture. Then came the collapse of the estate of Nátor during the time of Máhárájá Rámkrishna. The ability which had founded the Ráj was extinct ; Rámkrishna was helpless to arrest its disintegration. Out of that disintegration rose several Zamíndárs large and small. Contemporaneous with its downfall was the prevalence of crime and lawlessness, usurping the place of order. Then the removal of the sadr station from Nátor to Rámpur Boáliyá deprived the former of its grandeur. But the genius that had consolidated the Nátor Ráj and founded the house of Dighápatiyá was not extinct in the family of Dayáráam. His immediate successors, although neither so able nor so clear-headed, were not destitute of capacity for business. They never lost a bighá of land, but on the contrary made additions to their zamíndáries. When the English Government took root, things changed for the better, crime was repressed and education was promoted ; so that the Rájsháhi of the present day is an improvement upon the Rájsháhi of Rámkrishna. The police which was a disgrace and a scandal has been superseded by a comparatively efficient and pure administration of criminal justice. Dispensaries have been established for the sick poor of the district, and schools and libraries have multiplied. Thus we see retrogression has been followed by progress.

ART. II.—BENOUDHA.

PART III.

WE have now suddenly and half unconsciously hit upon a new vein in social geology, quite dissimilar to any thing that has yet presented itself to our notice, an ethnological "dike," as it were, forced out of its proper level by its own fury and volcanic nature. In the stratum in which we are now conducting our researches, the Muhammadans are what geologists would call "intrusive;" and we do not hesitate to aver that this is precisely the light in which they were regarded by their semi-barbarous antagonists. We leave them for the present, under the conviction that we shall soon meet with them again, and better understand their natural position, if we continue to follow the progressive order of social stratification.

Foremost among the cities which excited the admiration and wonder of the Muhammadan strangers was Kanauj; but what circumstances tended so greatly to embellish and enrich that city Elphinstone in vain endeavours to discover. As to one possible cause he speaks conclusively and in the negative. It was not in any way connected with the magnitude of the dominions of the Rájá, for they were not more extensive than those of his neighbours, nor does he exhibit any superiority of power in their recorded wars and alliances.* It will presently be seen, moreover, that shortly after Mahmud's invasion, Satraph, a large town on the extreme west of Benoudha, was selected by a friend and ally of his as a base of operations against the surrounding country; which would presumably not have been the case, had it lain within his territory. These facts appear to us to confirm our view that Benoudha retained its independence until after the commencement of the eleventh century, and that it never acknowledged the suzerainty of the Tomar Kings of Kanauj.†

* Elphinstone, 4th Edition, p. 281.

† The capitals of the Tomars was once for a short time at Bári, a little to the north of Lucknow (As. Soc. Journal I. iv. 1865, p. 206), but this was not till after the first Muhammadan invasion; so that, considering the friendly relation of the Tomars to the invaders, that town may have been part of a conquest effected by their joint efforts. Attempted

territorial aggrandisement on the part of the Tomars would have been a spur to patriotism in causing the league of Hindu princes against them, which Mahmúd marched into Oudh for the express purpose of punishing. (Elph., 4th Edition, 281.) Under any circumstances, moreover, there would be ample room for a boundary line between Bári and Satraph.

About 1050 A.D., however, the Tomars were compelled to retire to Dehli;* and a Rahtor Chief, Chandra-deva, remote ancestor of the present Ráná of Jodhpur, establishing himself on the throne of Kanauj, founded the most famous dynasty of that kingdom. On the west the Tomars continued to be formidable rivals; but, in the opposite direction, the Rahtor power found no check to its expansion. Its utmost limits we leave undefined; it certainly embraced Banáras and Ayodhyá. Local legends,† quoted by Mr. Carnegy, single out Chandra-deva as the conqueror of Ayodhyá; and contemporary historians‡ denominate the last of the Rahtors the "Rai" and "King" of Banáras. They also state that he was the greatest King in India, and that his kingdom extended from the borders of China to Málwa, and from the sea to within ten days' journey of Láhor; Banáras itself is called the "centre of the country of Hind."§ A copper land-grant, moreover, discovered in Ayodhyá in recent days, describes in language turgid with fulsome adulation how Jaya Chandra performed the not very munificent act of giving a village to a bráhmaṇ; and in the lengthy recital does not consider it inappropriate to refer to the fact that his great grand-father, Chandradeva, "protected the sacred places of Kási (Banáras) "and Kási Kosava Kosala (Oudh) and Indrasthána, possessing "them." Thus, once again, after the lapse of many centuries, did Benoudha again for a brief season come under the domination of a Hindú prince.

The Rahtors held the sceptre of Kanauj for about a century and a half; and, at the end of that time, Shaháb-ud-dín Ghorí marched against the city at the head of a tremendous following of fifty thousand mounted men, clad in armour and coats of mail. The Rájá was defeated and slain, and his kingdom thoroughly and permanently broken up. Ayodhyá had up to this point remained subject to Kanauj. || What became of it subsequently belongs to Muslim history.

* Mr. Carnegy says (Notes on Races, p. 25) "It has been mentioned as not improbable that Chandra-des was the leader of the expedition, which for a time expelled the "Muhammadans from India." Should this rather be the leader of the anti-Tomar league? If so, we may see what cause first directed the attention of the Rahtors to Kanauj.

† Notes on Races, p. 25.

‡ Elliot's History of India II., 223, 251.

§ A later historian (see Ell. III., 312) speaks of Banáras as the ancient

residence of the arrogant rais; and Ferishta speaks of Jayachandra as prince of Kanauj and Banáras (Briggs' Ferishta I., 178). The common union of these two names perhaps furnished a trap for writers with limited geographical knowledge, into which the author of the Tabaqát-i Násiri fell, when he accused Shaháb-ud-dín of returning from Ghazní to India by the rather circuitous route of Banáras and Kanauj (Ell. II., 297).

|| Mr. Carnegy (Notes on Races, p. 25) gives the popular form of

The banner of the Muslim was first unfurled in Oudh in the reign of Mahmúd of Ghazní; and it is quite within the bounds of possibility that the standard-bearer marched in the ranks of Mahmúd himself, for the Sultan is recorded to have twice reached Banáras,* and the highway from Kanauj to that place is known to have lain in later days across the southern portion of the province.† But, even if this supposition be correct, the most we are warranted in believing is that Mahmúd peacefully traversed Oudh in his eastward line of march; there are no grounds for thinking that he carried on hostile operations within it or in any way molested its inhabitants; indeed, while, in Banáras, he is particularly stated to have taken measures, on how-

the Pauranik account of the origin of the name Kanauj. The wind in human form once wooed the hundred beautiful daughters (Kanya) of Kush Nabh, of Mahodí, but their only answer was a reference to their father. Boreas became incensed and reverting to his natural condition entered into the nymphs as the air they breathed, and then had his revenge by making them hunch-backed (Kubja). Mahodí hence became known as Kanya-Kubja. "These loves of the Wind recall Milton's account of the parentage of Euphrosyne."

Zephyr with Aurora playing.

As he met her once a maying.

* This statement is made on the authority of Abul Fazl (Aini-Akbarí, s. v., Allahabad). On the other hand, a writer contemporary with Mahmúd (the author of the *Tarikh-us Subuktagín*), says of one Ahmad Nialtúgin, a natural son of Mahmúd, that in A.D. 1023, "he crossed the river Ganges and went down the left bank. Unexpectedly (ná-gáh) he arrived at a city which is called Banáras, and which belonged to the province of Gang. *Never had a Muhammadan army reached this place.*" (Ell II., 123). Ferishta (Briggs', I., 57) in his account of Mahmúd says that that prince after reaching Kanauj stayed there only three days and then went to Mírat; but a few pages further on (I. 143) he mentions one Hájib Taghatagín, a General of Sultan Masúd bin Ibrahim, who at

the commencement of the twelfth century *crossed the Ganges* and carried his conquests further than any Muslimán had done *except Mahmúd*, which certainly implies that Mahmúd also crossed the Ganges. The *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* does not appear to record any expedition of Mahmúd to the east of the Ganges; but in connection with Sultan Masúd bin Ibrahim contains a passage concerning Hájib Taghatagín, almost word for word the same as Ferishta's. (Ell II. 278.) There is one rather important exception; it says "*since the days of Mahmúd*," and may therefore refer to Ahmad Nialtagín above-named, whose expedition took place only three years after Mahmúd's death. If such be the meaning of this passage, Ferishta must probably be read in the same sense, and Mahmúd's claims become rather weak. The circumstantial account of Abul Fazl, however, on whatever founded, still remains intact. Abul Fazl even gives the dates of Mahmúd's visits to Banáras, which correspond to A.D. 1019 and 1022.

† Ferishta I., 256, says that the road from Dehli to Bengal lay through Jaunpur and Banáras. See also *Calcutta Review*, vol. xli., 1865, p. 118. In Ell. III. 36, 'Iwaz (Oudh) is said to be one of the provinces traversed in the journey from Dehli to Hind; but from the other names given, 'Iwaz would appear to lie between Dehli and Badáún.

ever limited a scale, for the introduction of the religion of the Koran ; in Oudh he left no such traces of his visit.

We, therefore, readily concur in the general opinion that Sayyid Salar Mas'úd Ghází,* a nephew of Mahmúd, is to be credited with the first *invasion* of Benoudha. We refer that event to the year A.D. 1032.

Sayyid Salar Mas'úd Ghází was endowed with every grace and virtue, a perfect paragon of excellence. The beauty of Yusuf, says his panegyrist, the grace of Abraham, and the light of Muhammad shone upon his brow ; and with kinship to render these attractions the more apparent, it could scarcely be otherwise than that Sayyid Salar should stand high in the good graces of his uncle. But who shall gainsay Gray's paradox that a favourite has no friends ? when was ever prime minister who shared not Ahitophel's bitterness of mind at slighted counsel ? Khwája Hasan Maimandí, Mahmúd's Wazír, took such umbrage at the weight the youth's voice carried with it in the council chamber, that he threw up the seals of office in disgust. But then, as now, kings sometimes found it difficult to replace the loss of an able minister, and so to conciliate the Khwája, Sayyid Salar was informed by Mahmúd that he must submit to a short ostracism. It was suggested that he should spend the period of his absence in the pleasures of the chase at Kábulíz ; but this to Sayyid Salar's enterprising and intrepid spirit appeared to be inglorious inaction, and he obtained the Sultán's sanction to undertake an expedition against Hindustan, to subdue the realms of heathen-esse, propagate therein the faith of Islám, and cause the Khutba to be pronounced therein in the Sultan's name.

The spoils of Thaneswar and Somnáth had already familiarised the Ghaznavíds with a knowledge of the wealth of Hind, so adventurers of every degree readily flocked to his standard ; and he set out with an army amounting, with his own followers and

* It has sometimes been supposed that this Sayyid Salar is an imaginary character ; but if so, his mythical and saintly birth took place more than five centuries ago, as his tomb had become a place of sanctity by the time of Muhammad Tughlak, who paid a visit to it, and devoutly made offerings at the shrine (Tarikh-i Firúz Sháhí of Zia-ud-dín Barní. Ell. III. 249), and Sultan Firúz is said to have done the same in 1376 A.D. (Tarikh-i Firúz Sháhí of Shams-i-Shiráj, Ell III. 362). At the same time great uncertainty exists as to who the saint was and

when he lived. Sir H. Elliot (Sup. Gloss. S. V. Ghází Mián) quotes the opinions of several authorities ; we may add that in the passage of the Firúz Sháhí above-quoted, Sayyid Salar is said to have been one of the heroes of Sultán Mahmúd Subuktágín. In our remarks concerning him, we follow the Mirát-i Mas'údí, which Sir H. Elliot pronounces to give the most authentic account. Comparing dates and other particulars, there may have been some, perhaps a close, connection between Sayyid Salar's expedition and that of Ahmad Nialtigin.

those who joined him, to 1,100,000 men,* each of them, so to say, armed with the Korán in one hand, and the scimitar in the other; for Sayyid Salar steadily followed an alternative policy like the *parcere subjectis ac debellare superbos* of mighty Rome, of sparing the tractable and willing convert, but putting the stubborn to the sword.†

Sehúr, Multán, and Ajúdhan‡ successively felt the prowess of the youthful warrior, and the throne of Dehli next fell into his hands. Mas'úd, however, declined to ascend it, still affirming that he was warring only for the glory of God. Even so, in more recent times, did Cromwell, with a similar mockery of the Divine Name, put aside the crown of England.§ Finding the precious treasure almost within his grasp, with characteristic caution he paused to "seek God for counsel," that is, he wished to know the opinions of his army; and having at length satisfied himself that the measure was disagreeable to the *army*, he found himself prompted by *divine inspiration* to declare that he could not undertake the government with the title of king.

Sayyid Salar was probably acted upon by a similar influence, and acute enough to comprehend that it was necessary to find continued employment and the opportunity of gathering fresh spoils for the turbulent soldiery he had led into a foreign country. Tamerlane,|| indeed, thus frankly and unblushingly expounds the double purpose of a holy war. "My principal object," says he, "in coming to Hindustan, and in undergoing all this toil and hardship, has been to accomplish two things. The first was to war with the infidels, the enemies of the Muhammadan religion; and by this religious warfare to acquire some claim to reward in the life to come. The other was a worldly object; that the army of Islám might gain something by plundering the wealth and valuables of the infidels: plunder in war is as lawful as their mother's milk to Musalmáns who war for their faith, and the consuming of that which is lawful is a means of grace."

After six months' stay at Dehli, therefore, Sayyid Salar marched on to Kanauj; and after a friendly meeting with the king of that country (to whom he took the opportunity of imparting a few valuable hints on State-craft) continued his journey for ten days after crossing the Ganges, when he arrived at Satrakh. He had

* Ell II., 529.

† See Ell. II., 530-534.

‡ Professor Dowson in a note on this word (Ell II., 530) says "Ajúdha" or "Ajúdhya" is the old form of the name Oudh. The scene of Mas'úd's later exploits is laid in the neighbourhood of Oudh." The Ajúdhan referred to, in the text,

however, is a town in the Panjáb (Cunnigham's *Ancient Geography*, 214, 218). In Briggs' *Ferishta* I. 479, it is said to be situated 24 miles from Láhor.

§ Smyth's *Lectures on Modern History. Cromwell.*

|| Ell. III., 451.

now reached Benoudha, and immediately addressed himself to the task of its subjection. At that time, we are told, Satrakh was the most flourishing of all the towns and cities of India ; it lay in the centre of that country, and abounded in good hunting-ground ; moreover it was a sacred shrine of the Hindús. It thus had the recommendation that the Musalmáns, even while enjoying nominal repose, had temples of the heathen always ready at hand in the desecration of which they might employ themselves, whenever the fancy seized them, and from resort to which they could always debar the Hindú pilgrim. Mas'úd accordingly took up his quarters there, and sent out armies on every side to conquer the surrounding country. Salar Saifu-d-dín and Miyán Rájá he despatched against Bahraich, Sultánu-s Sulátín and Mír Bakh-tíyár against the lower country ; Amir Hasan Arab against Mahona ; Sayyid Azizu-d-dín (otherwise known as Lál Pír or Saint Rufus) against Gopaman and its vicinity ; and Malik Fazl against Banáras and its neighbourhood. Mas'úd's warlike ardour seems to have cooled down a bit, so he reserved for himself the easy duty of "continuing to reside with great magnificencé at Satrakh and enjoying the pleasures of the chase."*

Here his father Salar Sáhú joined him ; and about the same time, it was ascertained, by means of intercepted letters, that the chiefs of the south of Oudh were contemplating the formation of an alliance with those of the north against their common foe. Salar Sáhú accordingly started off by forced marches against the former and, surprising them by a night-attack took possession of their capitals, Karrah and Mánikpur. Muhammadan generals were placed in charge of both those places, and Salar Sáhú returned to Satrakh in triumph.

In the meanwhile, the Chiefs of the north were making common cause against the garrison of Bahraich, which sent to Satrakh

* Professor Dowson (Ell. II., 549) says on the authority of General Cunningham, "Satrakh which is "placed at ten days' march on the "opposite side of the Ganges from "Kanauj, is probably Vesákh or "Besákh, a name of Sahet or Ayo-dhya (Oudh), Saddhúr and Amethí "must be Bhadúr and Amethí, two "towns between Karra-Mánikpur." But Mr. Carnegie (Notes on Races, p. 25) and Mr C. A. Elliott (Chr. Oon. p. 84) place Satrakh in the Daryabad (now the Bárabankí) district, in which we find by reference to Mr. Williams' Census Report (Tables, *passim*), that it still gives its name to a parganah and to a taluq.

(App. G. xxi). Saddhúr would similarly seem to be Sidhaur, which gives its name to another parganah in the same district ; and Amethí the town of that name a little to the south of Satrakh on the Lucknow-Jaunpur road. In the time of Akbar it gave its name to a parganah in the Lucknow Sarkár. All three places are prominently marked on the Revenue Survey Map, as Sutrikh, Sidhowr, Umethee. It is necessary to point out that neither the map nor the books alluded to, were in existence at the date (1862) of the publication of General Cunningham's Archæological Report to which Professor Dowson refers.

to demand immediate aid. Sayyid Salar now wished to be placed in command of Bahraich; but this object being frustrated by his father's anxiety for his safety, he was obliged to content himself with a hunting excursion into that country. While still there, however, he received tidings of the death of his father at Satrakh, so he again buckled on his armour for a renewal of the contest with the infidels. Not many months elapsed* before he was slain in battle with them (A.D. 1033), and thus earned the title, by which his panegyrist delights to describe him, of the Prince of Martyrs.

Regarding the permanence of the impression produced on Benoudha by this invasion, opinions are somewhat at variance. Mr. Carnegy† appears to favour the view that the Musalmán army was all but annihilated, and that scarcely a man escaped to tell the tale. Mr. J. C. Williams, on the other hand, in his Report on the Census of Oudh, brings forward four arguments against this theory, three of which are based on statements contained in one of the books under review. We may here appear to be laying Mr. Carnegy open to the charge of inconsistency; but it appears that the passages in question are not from Mr. Carnegy's pen, but from that of Mr. Woodburn of the Civil Service, who "most obligingly undertook to arrange the portion of the notes which belonged to the Muhammadan portion of the subject, and very largely added to them from his own well-stored mines of knowledge."

"Doubtless," says Mr. Woodburn,‡ "no family can give convincing proofs of such descent; but tradition still connects several with the survivors of the invading force," and he then proceeds to enumerate instances in point. Several families in Bahraich itself are supposed to be descendants of the invaders. Sayyid Mas'úd Bihání escaped to Biháwan in Faizábád, and the descendants of his brother fugitive Shekh Mahmúd still inhabit the town of Hanswár in parganah Bishar. Other Shekhs established themselves in the same vicinity, and a Mughal family in Alanpur in the Akbarpur parganah. The town of Saidpúr in the district of Daryábad is believed to have been founded by Sayyid Abdulla, one of Sálár's captains; and the Patháns of Gopaman claim descent from other warriors of the same army.

These instances may, we believe, be multiplied. The old Bhar

* Sayyid Salar's birth took place on the 21st Sha'ban 405 H. (1015 A.D.). He was eighteen years old, says his biographer, when at Satrakh; (which would appear to involve a slight contradiction of the subsequent statement that) he went to Bahraich on the 17th Sha'ban in the year 423, or a few days before he turned eighteen. He was killed on the 14th Rajab 424 H. (14th June 1033).

† Notes on Races, p. 25.

‡ Notes on Races, p. 63.

citadel of Udyanagar was demolished, and the present city of Jais* founded on its ruins by Sayyid Najmu-d-dín, who commanded a portion of the hosts of Mas'úd; Subcha at the same time passed into the hands of the ancestors of the present Shekh owners; Salone contains the dargah and tomb of the Martyr (Shahíd) Píran Puronta,† a companion it is said of the renowned Sayyid Salar of Bahraich fame; and some Shekh families in the Beház tehsil in the district of Pratábgarh‡ are said to be descendants of those who came with that General.§

Nor do family annals alone contradict the tale of utter destruction of the first Muhammadan invaders. "The tomb of Sayyid Salar at Bahraich is admittedly a cenotaph erected two hundred years after his death; but 'the graves which still exist' at the various points of his march are presumed to have been constructed by his orders. The fact that so small an army marched successfully through a considerable tract of country, suggests that it met with less opposition than Muhammadan traditions assert, and construction of permanent tombs for those who died seems to favour the supposition. I am inclined to urge, from the preservation of these tombs, that the Muhammadans were not received with particular rancour, and that the extirpation of the army after its defeat is doubtful."

We feel no hesitation whatever in yielding assent to the views here expressed, or to the qualification which immediately follows that only a faint connection can at the same time be traced between the present Muhammadans of the province and the pioneers of their faith in Avadh. This last word means Oudh, and Mr. Carnegie is careful to explain in his preface that it was only under the influence of *sæva necessitas* that he adopted such an uncouth metamorphosis of so familiar a name.

It has been seen that Sayyid Salar with stern impartiality, despatched expeditions against all the four quarters of the compass; but, though Banáras and Jaunpur on the East escaped not, the history of Ayodhyá, Kusapura and Aror is wholly silent about his coming. Their reduction under Muhammadan rule was reserved for other hands.

The complete conquest of Benoudha was effected by Shahábu-d-dín or Muhammad Ghorí in A.D. 1193-94. Part of the Kanauj-Banáras Empire, it fell to Shahábu-d-dín as part of the fruits

* This differs from what is said in Notes on Races, p. 65; but we have reason to believe it to be in accordance with the account the Sayyids of Jais give of the matter.

† Mr. R. M. King's Pratábgarh Report, p. 36.

‡ Ibid, p. 26.

§ Settlements were also made at the same time in the adjoining provinces, e.g., at Bhilwal, a few miles south-east of Amethí, and at more than one place in the Allahabad district.

of his victory over Jayachandra in the battle of Chandwár. Fresh Muhammadan colonies were now planted in it, the principal of which were those of Radaulí in Daryábad, and Mánikpur in Pratabgarh; and the various States, evolved in the time of Bhar supremacy out of the old province of Benoudha, were constituted proconsulates of the Ghorian Empire. In Ayodhyá is still shown the tomb of Makhdúm Sháh Jorán Ghorí, a Lieutenant, it is alleged, of Shahábu-d-dín.* May not the tenant of this tomb have been the first Muhammadan Governor of Oudh?†

The conjecture is at least a fair one: the more so that written history shows that at all events within four years of the battle of Chandwár, the province was under the rule of Kutbu-d-dín's Generals.‡ In relating the history of the grim hero Muhammad Bakhtiyár Khiljí, the author of the *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* says that "this Muhammad Bakhtiyár was a Khiljí of Ghor in the province of Garmsír. He was a very smart, enterprising, bold, courageous, wise and experienced man. He left his tribe and came to the Sultán Mu'izzu-d-dín at Ghaznín, and was placed in the diwán-i-arz (office for petitions); but as the chief of that department was not satisfied with him, he was dismissed, and proceeded from Ghazni to Hindustán. When he reached the Court of Dehli, he was again rejected by the chief of the diwán-i-arz of that city, and so he went on to Badaún into the service of Hizbaru-d-dín Hasan, Commander-in-Chief, when he obtained a suitable position. After a time he went to Oudh, in the service of Malik Hisámu-d-dín. He had good horses and good arms, and he had showed much activity and valour at many places, so he obtained Sahlat and Sahlí in jágír.§"

We have quoted this passage *in extenso*, because Muhammad Bakhtiyár is himself credited by Elphinstone with the conquest of a part at least of Oudh; whereas it is clear from our quotation that he found the province under a Musalmán Governor, or at least in the occupation of a Musalmán army on his first arrival in it; and that it was only by entering into the service of the then

* See As. Soc. Journal—I. IV. 1865, p. 250, where it is said that many coins of the *Ghorí* Kings of Dehli have been found lately in the North of Oudh; but we hesitate to use this argument, as perhaps the passage must be read by the light of another at p. 238 of the Journal, which in speaking of Dhopápur, in the South, limits the ranges of coins there found between Násiru-d-dín Mahmúd Ghorí and Akbar, and the earliest of them would then belong to the thirteenth century. By

the next paragraph, however, it will be seen that there were Muhammadan Governors in Oudh and Bahraich before the accession of Násiru-d-dín.

† Faizábád Report, p. 27.

‡ Thus Muhammad Bakhtiyár "had subdued the districts of Behár and Nadiyá" by A.D. 1197 (Ell. II. 300) so that the Governor of Oudh under whom he commenced his military career must have been in office before that time.

§ Ell. II. 305.

Governor or Commander-in-Chief that he obtained a base of operations for his subsequent incursions into Behar. Malik Hisámu-d-dín's appointment to Oudh is easily intelligible. He had been a companion of Kutbu-d-dín in the Banáras campaign, and immediately on its conclusion had been appointed to the government of Kol.* His transfer to Oudh fits in well with the death at Ayodhyá of the above-mentioned Makhdúm Shah Jurán Ghorí.

We must, therefore, pluck a laurel from Muhammad Bakhtiyár's brow, though we will not altogether deny him a place in the history of Oudh. He may have succeeded Hisámu-d-dín, and thus been its third Governor; for in the year 1202, after having been rather shaky in his allegiance for some time, he deemed it prudent to conciliate Kutbu-d-dín, and therefore "joined the auspicious stirrups and came to pay his respects from the direction of Oudh and Behár."†

On the death of Kutbu-d-dín, Muhammad Bakhtiyár Khiljí ceased altogether to acknowledge fealty to Dehli;‡ and for the first, though by no means the last time, under Musalmán rule, Hindustán was divided, and an Empire of the East and an Empire of the West began to exist simultaneously, just as happened to Rome in the days of its decline. Muhammad Bakhtiyár's son § Ghaiásu-d-dín was awakened from his short dream of independence by Shamshu-d-dín Altamsh, who (A.D. 1225) reduced him to the condition of a feudatory of Dehli, and restricted his dominion to Bengal Proper. The rest of the territory he had previously held was parcelled out into smaller jurisdictions, in which we believe may be traced the commencement of those arrangements, which were afterwards more fully elaborated in the Aín-i-Akbarí. || Among them Oudh—not the Oudh of Ráma,

* Ell. II. 224. We are assuming that Maliku-l Umará Hisámu-d-dín 'Ulbak and Malik Hisámu-d-dín Ughlabak are no other than one and the same.

† Ell. II. 232. Elphinstone perhaps had this passage in his mind when he wrote; but if so, it obviously conveys no authority for the statement that Muhammad Bakhtiyár Khiljí *conquered* Oudh. The reference he gives is apparently intended only to support the assertion, that Muhammad Bakhtiyár waited on Kutbu-d-dín; for it does not say, he conquered either Oudh or Behar; on the contrary it says he had *been appointed Governor of Behar (and that alone)* by the king. Nor does Ferishta in his account of the Sharkí Kings mention Oudh among the

acquisitions of Muhammad Bakhtiyár, nor does Abu-l Fazl in the Aín-i-Akbarí s.v. Bengal.

‡ Ferishta I. 203.

§ Elphinstone gives the same date as in the text, but makes Muhammad Bakhtiyár himself the adversary of Shamsu-d-dín; but compare Ferishta I. 208 and Ell. II. 319, 324. Muhammad Bakhtiyár died in A.D. 1205, and still at the death of Arám Sháh (A.D. 1211) Hindustán was divided into four principalities, of which Lakhnautí held by Khiljí chiefs and Sultans was one.

|| Thus the three contiguous Governments of Bahraich, Oudh, and Mánikpúr mentioned in the succeeding sentence appear as three contiguous sarkárs in the Aín-i-Akbarí.

of the Mughul Emperors, or of the Nawáb Wazírs, but a tiny little tract bounded on the north by Bahraich and on the south-west by Mánikpur—became again a separate province, under the rule of its own governors.

The first incumbent of the office (A.D. 1226) was Shamsu-d-dín's eldest and favourite son,* Násiru-d-dín, a prince, according to Muhammadan writers, of rare ability and promise, whose early virtues held out hopes of a brilliant reign, soon disappointed by his untimely death. In this perhaps consists his excellence, that while still Governor of Oudh he overthrew and sent to hell the accursed Bartúh (?) under whose hand and sword more than one hundred and twenty thousand Musalmáns had received martyrdom. He overthrew the rebel infidels of Oudh and brought a body of them into submission.

A few years after his death, his namesake Násiru-d-dín Tabáshi Muizzi held the province,† and distinguished himself by leading an army to the relief of Sultán Razia while she was besieged in Dehli by the chiefs of the faction opposed to her elevation (A.D. 1236). The glory of the affair, however, lay in the attempt, for it terminated unsuccessfully; Násiru-d-dín was taken prisoner and died in captivity soon after. Next to him comes mention of Kamru-d-dín Kairán,‡ whom Minháju-s Siráj, the author of the *Tabaqát-i-Násirí*, particularizes as having shown him great attention in Oudh, while he was making a tour from Dehli to Lakhnautí (A.D. 1242). On such trifles does fame depend! This Kamru-d-dín may, for all we know to the contrary, be the anonymous "Chief of Oudh," enumerated as one of the nobles who eleven years later instigated Ghaiásu-d-dín Balban, then banished from the Court of Dehli, to take up arms against the Emperor and the minister who had supplanted him§

In the year 1255, something mysterious happened in the royal harem,|| the result of which was that under the "behests of fate" the mind of His Majesty was turned against his mother, the Malika-i-Jahán." She was married to Katlagh Khan; so to get her and her husband away from court, Oudh was granted to them, and they were directed to proceed thither. This command they obeyed without hesitation, but before the year was out, His Majesty had taken it into his head that Katlagh Khan was better

* Ell. II. 329.

† Ell. II. 333.

‡ Ell. II. 343. It is not expressly mentioned that Kamru-d-dín Kairán was *Governor*; but he is mentioned (Ib. 342) in the same breath with Táju-d-dín Sanjar Katlak, who held that rank in Badáun.

§ Ferishta (I. 230) calls one Qazí Jalálu-d-dín (who was sent in A.D. 1243 with a Khillat to Tughán Khan of Lakhnautí) *Governor* of Oudh; but in the *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* (Ell. II. 345) the same person is called *gází* of Oudh.

|| Ell. II., 354, 355, 373, 374, 375.

out of Oudh, and ordered him to proceed to Bahraich.* This time Katlagh Khan questioned the propriety of the order, and refused to act upon it. A royal army was accordingly sent against him to enforce obedience, which he not only ventured to meet, but succeeded in defeating. He was unable to follow up his victory, however; and Balban, now reinstated in the office of Wazir, having been sent against him with a second army, he was obliged to evacuate the province, his connection with which thereafter ceased.

He appears to have been succeeded by Arslán Khán Sanjar,† who like him has been immortalised by means of his disloyalty. In A.D. 1259, Arslán Khán was summoned to join the royal camp, an invitation to which he for some reason deemed it imprudent to respond, and he therefore began to meditate revolt. The energy and vigour of the Wazir Balban, who in spite of the hot season promptly led an army to the neighbourhood of Karrah, induced him to lay aside his seditious schemes and make his submission to the Emperor. By the intercession of the minister Arslán Khán obtained pardon; but, though not degraded and disgraced, he was removed to another province, that of Karrah-Mánikpur.

Aptagín,‡ the "long-haired" otherwise known as Amír Khán, was probably installed in his place; for he was an old slave of the all-powerful Wazir, (and so likely to be appointed at such a time) and when mentioned in connection with the affairs of twenty years later (A.D. 1279) "he had, for *many years* held the fief of Oudh." He is remembered only by his tragic end. He was selected by Balban to command an expedition against the rebel Tughral, but suffered a severe defeat, and Balban ordered him to be hanged "over the gate of Oudh"! This is not the only instance of such measure being meted out to unsuccessful Generals, and Balban is said to have gone almost wild with rage and vexation at the rebellion of Tughral; but a second motive also probably influenced him in his savage treatment of Amír Khán. In the palmy days of ancient Rome, the victorious consul while borne along in triumphal procession, was accompanied in his car by a slave, who, to prevent his indulging in excessive

* Imádu-d-dín Rihán had been appointed to Bahraich when Katlagh Khan came to Oudh (Ell. II. 373), but Táju-d-dín Sanjar, perhaps the one mentioned in a previous note, was shortly afterwards appointed to the same government. Katlagh Khan, apparently in consequence of an understanding with Imádu-d-dín seized Táju-d-dín and confined him

in prison. Táju-d-dín managed to escape, however, and went to Bahraich; when Imádu-d-dín was defeated and slain. His downfall is said to have hastened the ruin of Katlagh Khán. (Ell. II. 374.)

† Ell. II. 379.

‡ Ferishta I. 256. Ell. III. 114, 121, 130.

self-complacency, ever and anon reminded him of their common nature, and of the little distance that separated the ruler and the bondman. Ghaiásu-d-dín, by fortune a monarch, but by birth a slave, heard the same warning incessantly repeated by a "still small voice within;" and no sooner did he ascend the throne than he set about taking all power out of the hands of his old associates, and the servile class in general.* To this settled policy, we conjecture, as much as to a sudden out-burst of wrath on the part of Balban at his defeat, did Amír Khán fall a victim. Even in that age, at least, judged by the grounds on which Balban nominally acted, "this condign punishment excited a strong feeling of opposition among the wise men of the day, who looked upon it as a token that the reign of Balban was drawing to an end."†

Balban's Governors, indeed, held no sinecures; he employed them pretty freely to point a moral, or adorn a tale. In the narrow compass of Oudh alone is to be found a second example of his unrelenting severity towards those who had the misfortune to fall under his displeasure. Haihat Khan, Governor of Oudh, an officer also of the household troops, had a person of obscure rank put to death, while in a state of intoxication. The widow complained to Balban, and the unlucky Governor was sentenced to receive a public whipping of five hundred lashes, and after its infliction made over as a slave to the widow, out of whose clutches he escaped only by the payment of a ransom of 20,000 silver tankas.‡

A few years later, Oudh, then governed by a nameless "Khán" became the scene of an event of a much more pleasing character, the romantic meeting of the thrice-royal Kai-Kubád with his father Baghra Khan, celebrated by the poet Amír Khusrau as the conjunction of the two auspicious planets.§ Kai-Kubád, on the death of his grand-father Balban, was placed on the throne under the title of Muizzu-d-dín. Baghra Khán, then absent in his Government of Bengal, no sooner received intelligence of the circumstance, than he advanced from Lakhnautí to Oudh, with a powerful army, had the Khutba read in his name, and proclaimed himself King under the title of Násiru-d-dín. Kai-kubád in turn collected his forces, and sent them in the same direction, and on his arrival from Dehli pitched his camp at Oudh (Ayodhyá) on the banks of the Ghaghrá. Baghra Khán was posted on the opposite side of the river. Messages of defiance were exchanged with equal spirit on either side, until at length the affection of the father overcoming his displeasures, Baghra

* Elphinstone.

† Ell. II. 314.

‡ Ferishta I. 253.

§ Ell. III. 530. A somewhat different account is given by Elphinstone, p. 328. See also Fer. I. 278.

Khán addressed his son in conciliatory terms, and requested to be admitted to an interview.

They met, each endeavoured to persuade the other to assume the place of honour; each shrank from occupying it himself. "Long they continued in this gentle altercation, and no one could see the step of either advance." At length, Baghra Khan seizing his son's hand placed him on the throne, and then descending stood before him with his hands joined in token of humility and respect. Kai-Kubád, all dutiful during this transient revival of filial affection, speedily rose from the throne, descended and embraced his father. The courtiers looked on with mingled wonder and emotion, while Baghra Khán confirmed his son in possession of the throne and offered thanks aloud to heaven that he had seen the desire of his heart accomplished. Were this affecting scene enacted on the modern stage, it would be accompanied at its close with soft and solemn strains of music; the poetic narrator similarly feeling that some finish was still wanting to the tableau ranged the "officers of State on either side, holding trays of jewels in their hands, which they poured upon the heads of the two Kings, and the ground before them was strewed with rubies, pearls, silver and gold!"

Soon after this reconciliation the camps were broken up; and Kai-Kubád, on his departure nominated Khán-i-Jabán, immortalised by Amír Khusrau of whom he was a warm patron, to the Government of Oudh.* He retained it for at least two years, as for that time Amír Khusrau was a constant attendant at his court; and was followed, immediately or shortly after, by Malik Ali, whose brief tenure of office was terminated by his rebellion.†

The house of Khiljí was now established on the throne of Dehli; but Malik Chajjú, a nephew of Ghaiásu-d-dín, held the important government of Karrah, and did not yet despair of recovering the more magnificent heritage of the house of Balban. He accordingly raised the standard of revolt.‡ Malik Ali was then Governor of Oudh, and lent himself to the furtherance of Malik Chajjú's ambitious designs. The confederates met with small success, for their army was very soon defeated by Arkallí Khán, second son of the Khiljí Emperor. All the Chiefs were taken prisoners, and sent in ignominious procession with boughs of trees round their necks to Dehli.§ The lives of Malik Chajjú and Malik Ali were spared, but their provinces were confiscated. Aláu-d-dín Khiljí, afterwards Emperor, was immediately appointed

* Ell. III. 532.

† Ferishta (I. 293) calls him *Amír Ali*, which may be explained, by Ell. III., 157. Both *Malik* and *Amír* were titles, the former a degree high-

er than the latter. Amír Ali had also according to Ferishta a new title, Hátim Khán.

‡ Ell. II. 137.

§ Ferishta I. 293.

to that of Karrah, and very shortly afterwards succeeded Amír Ali in that of Oudh.

Famous as a Monarch, victorious as a General, infamous as a regicide, aye and parricide to boot, Aláu-d-dín Khiljí owes no portion of his notoriety to his connection with Oudh. Almost immediately after he received a grant of the province, he set out on an expedition to Deogír* ; and on his arrival at Karrah on his return, those events occurred which converted him from a provincial ruler into an Emperor, and he marched direct to Dehli. Nor is there any thing to show that he subsequently ever visited his early government.

During Aláu-d-dín's absence at Deogír, Alanu-l-Mulk, uncle of the author of the *Tarikh-i-Firúz Sháhí*, acted as his deputy in Oudh and Karrah ; † and on Aláu-d-dín's attaining the imperial dignity he was confirmed in the government of those provinces. (A.D. 1296.) In the following year, however, he was summoned to Dehli ; and notwithstanding his being, as his nephew mischievously records, obese and lazy, was created Kotwal of that City. ‡ Oudh still continued to retain its individuality, being one of twenty-three principal provinces § into which the empire of Dehli was divided : but we are unable to say who held it during the next quarter of a century. We then find incidental mention of one Malik Tigín of Oudh, || who (A.D. 1328) accompanied Ulugh Khán, ¶ son of Ghaiásu-d-dín Tughlak in his expedition against Warangal. Together with many other nobles, he deserted from Ulugh Khán's camp, at an important crisis of the siege of that place, and thus caused its failure. He paid the penalty of his misconduct by falling into the hands of the Hindús who killed and flayed him and sent his skin to Ulugh Khán at Deogír.

He was succeeded by Malik AINU-l-Mulk** under whose long and beneficent rule, Oudh reached a state of great prosperity ; so much so that many of the nobles and officials of Dehli, dreading the stern character of the Emperor Muhammad Tughlak came and settled in that province (and in Zafrabad also held by AINU-l-Mulk) together with their wives and families. AINU-l-Mulk was as loyal a subject, and as skilful a General as he was an experienced Governor, and had more than once given proof of those qualities by

* Ell. III. 148.—Ferishta I. 333. After obtaining Oudh, Aláu-d-dín seems to have gone to Dehli, then back to Karrah, and then to Deogír.

† Ell. III. 149.

‡ Ell. III. 161.

§ Ell. III. 574.

|| Ell. III. 233, and Ferishta I. 405.

¶ Ell. II. 231. Usually called Alaf Khán.

** We argue that such was the case because in reference to the events of A.D. 1340, it is said that AINU-l-Mulk had held Oudh for *many years* (Ell. III. 247), and that he was an *old* courtier and associate of the Sultán (Ib. 248) which might account for his appointment a long time before.

the reduction of refractory chiefs, in which he had been assisted by his brothers.* The Sultán, accordingly, in A.D. 1340, meditated the removal of the whole family to Deogír, where a good ruler was required; but AINU-L-MULK, who was simultaneously called upon to surrender the Dehli refugees, become alarmed, and together with his brothers plunged into that rebellion, which they had so often been the means of punishing in others. They had the temerity to take the initiative, and march against the Sultán, but suffered a complete defeat. The Malik's brothers were slain in the conflict, and he himself fell into the hands of the Sultán, who treated him with unusual clemency as he thought that he was "not wilfully rebellious, but had acted through mistake." Whether he was not deprived of his office, however, is doubtful; for according to one account, his services were for some time lost to the State, on account of the misconduct of his brothers, and when they were again employed it was in the fief of Multán.†

AINU-L-MULK, it has been seen, held at the same time the two provinces of Oudh and Zafrabad; and here begins to be dimly foreshadowed that closer and more lasting union between them, which took place at the end of the same century. Not that they were continuously held together from the time of AINU-L-MULK; for when, after the extinction of the revolt of SHAMSU-D-DÍN, of GUJARÁT, new Governors were appointed to all border provinces (A.D. 1376),‡ Oudh was given to HISÁMU-L-MULK, while Zafrabad fell to Malik Bahroz. But a very few years subsequently, (A.D. 1394)§ the vast empire of Dehli fell to peices, and seven Kingdoms § rose upon its ruins; and then Oudh and Jaunpur (together with Karrah and Kanaúj) became united under the same sceptre, that of that SHARKÍ dynasty of Jaunpur.

(To be continued.)

* The assertion (Ell. III. 248) that AINU-L-MULK and his brothers knew nothing of war and fighting must mean in comparison with the Sultán; for taken by itself, it is contrary to related facts. As early as the year 1304, AINU-L-MULK had conquered Málwa.

† Ell. II. 369. Ibn Batúta says that on his capture he was treated with every indignity and kept in chains for two years and a half, and then pardoned (Ell. III. 619).

‡ Ferishta I. 456.

§ Ferishta I. 498.

ART. III.—THE SECT OF "THE ASSASSINS."

PART III. THE CALIPHS OF BAGHDAD.

THE conclusion of our last paper established the sect of "the Assassins" in Asia, and fairly launched them on their dark and bloody career. Their daggers had already reached the heart of the most eminent statesman, and one of the most estimable of the men of his time, the aged vazir, Nizam-ul-Mulk. From that time their power grew apace. But in order to understand the causes which enabled an organisation so utterly subversive of all social order, to strengthen and develop, it will be necessary to take a rapid retrospect of the events which, commencing with the rise of the Abbasides to the dignity of Caliph, gradually brought all central Asia, from Herat to the very borders of Christendom, under subjection to the Seljukian Turks. In the first chapter of this narrative we gave a brief account of the primary schism in Islam, which resulted in the transference of the supreme power from the family of Ali, to the house of Ommeya. The princes of this house reigned over Islam until the year 132 (A.D. 750) when a successful revolution drove them from Damascus, and replaced them by the Abbasides. The origin of the house of Abbas was in this wise :—

Before the birth of the Prophet, and about the middle of the fifth century (A.D. 440) the chief power in the city of Mecca belonged to an Arab sheikh of the tribe of Koreish, named Cossai. At that time, not less than after the death of the Prophet, Mecca, as our readers will remember, was a sacred city in virtue of its possession of the black stone. Thither the tribes went up to worship, and it was from the influence attaching to the offices connected with the Caaba, and the yearly pilgrimage, that the Sheikhs of the Koreish derived their power. These offices were five in number ; 1.—*Sicaya* and *Rifada* ; the exclusive privilege of supplying food and water to the pilgrims. 2.—*Kiyada* ; the command of the troops in war. III.—*Liwa* ; the right of affixing the banner to the staff and presenting it to the standard bearer. IV.—*Hijaba* ; the charge of the Caaba. V.—*Dar-ul-Nadwa* ; the presidency in the Hall of Council. Cossai, a man of commanding ability, had contrived to get the whole of these offices in his own possession, and his great ambition was to transmit his power undiminished to his eldest son. He had in all four sons ; the two eldest of whom were Abd-al-dar, and Abd Menaf ; but of these Abd Menaf though inferior in point of age, was by far the most vigorous and enterprising in character. The consequence was that on Cossai's death, the real power passed into the possession

of Abd Menaf ; his elder brother enjoying little more than a merely nominal supremacy. Abd Menaf managed all the affairs of Mecca, and on him was devolved the duty of laying out fresh quarters for the increasing population of the city. Upon the death of Abd-al-dar, the five offices passed to his sons, but they all died a few years after him, leaving children too young to maintain the rights which had descended to them. (A.D. 500.) Meanwhile the sons of Abd Menaf had reached man's estate ; they inherited the lofty qualities of their father, and were held in equal respect by the tribe of Koreish. The two eldest were Al Mutallib, and Hashim. There was bitter feud between them and the grandchildren of Abd-al-dar. Mecca at one time seemed in danger of becoming the scene of a fierce civil war, when a compromise was effected which averted the calamity. To Hashim and his party was conceded the office of providing food and water for the pilgrims ; and the descendants of Abd-al-dar retained the custody of the Kaaba, the right to preside in the Hall of Council, and that of raising the banner. Hashim, a man of great wealth, greatly increased his authority by the princely magnificence of his entertainments to the pilgrims ; and the lavish munificence with which during a period of famine, he relieved the wants of his fellow citizens. He died early in the sixth century leaving one son who was brought up at Medina under the care of his mother. Hashim left his right of entertainment to his elder brother Al Muttalib, who continued to discharge that function in such magnificent fashion, that he received the appellation of "Munificent." After the lapse of some time, he went to Medina returning with his nephew, the only child of Hashim. He reached Mecca during the heat of the day. As the inhabitants sitting in the shade of their houses saw him pass with the lad at his side, they exclaimed *Abd-al Muttalib*—"Look at the servant of Muttalib"—and this name clung to the son of Hashim ever after. On the death of his uncle, Abd-al-Muttalib succeeded to the office of entertaining the pilgrims. But he was poor, and for a long time remained destitute of power or consideration. He had, however, the good fortune after a time to discover the celebrated well of Zem Zem, which had been choked up centuries before, but the recollection of which had survived by tradition. The scarcity of water at Mecca rendered this discovery one of great value. The position of Abd-al-Muttalib became at once changed. His power steadily increased ; he became, and continued until his death, the chief man in Mecca. He had ten sons ; the youngest and best beloved of whom was Abdallah, the father of Muhammad. Abdallah died while his son was still unborn, and the guardianship of the future Prophet devolved upon the venerable Abd-al-Muttalib. This guardianship lasted only a few years.

Abd-al-Muttalib died A.D. 578, at the ripe age of four score and two. The right of entertaining the pilgrims passed to his eldest surviving son Zobeir, and after him to his younger brother Abbas—the progenitor of the Abbaside Caliphs. But since the death of Abd-al-Muttalib, the influence of the family had steadily declined; and that of Abu Sofian—the father of Moawiah, the first Ommeya Caliph—had attained the ascendant. Abbas succeeded in retaining the privilege only of supplying the pilgrims with water. This was held by him until the introduction of Islam, and confirmed to him and his family by the Prophet. But he was a man in no way remarkable, and was never held in much account by his fellow tribesmen. When the prophet resolved to abandon Mecca, and went out beyond the city for that momentous midnight interview with the Medina converts which resulted in "the Flight," Abbas was his sole companion. Abbas, however, was not at this time a convert nor until long after. During the prophet's residence at Medina, he remained at Mecca, playing the part of a trimmer, and managing to preserve the good will of both parties. Only when the Prophet set out on that triumphant march which carried him unopposed into Mecca, did Abbas openly espouse his cause. He met the Prophet half way between Mecca and Medina, and was received with favour and affection.

Abu Abdallah Muhammad the great grandson of this Abbas, was the father of the two first Abbaside Caliphs. There was no lack of prognostications setting forth the approaching greatness of his family. We cite one here as illustrative of the time. "We happened," so it is related as coming from the lips of Hajjaj (the "infamous Hajjaj" of our first paper) "to be with Abdal Malek Ibn Marwan at a country seat of his He was conversing with a physiognomist, and addressing questions to him when Ali Ibn Abdallah came in accompanied by his son Muhammad. On seeing him approach, Abd-al-Malek ceased from conversation, his colour changed, and he began to mutter some words between his lips. I immediately sprung up with the intention of preventing Ali from advancing, but the Caliph made me a sign that I should let him alone. He then drew near and made his salutation, on which Abd-al-Malek seated him by his side, and while he passed his hand carelessly over his clothes, he signed to Muhammad that he should also be seated. He then commenced discoursing with Ali, the agreeable tone of whose conversation was well known. A repast being brought in, the Caliph washed his hands, and ordered the tray to be placed near Ali Ibn Abdallah, but he said he was then keeping a fast, and rising up suddenly he retired. Abd-al Malek followed him with his eyes till he had nearly disappeared from sight, and then turning to the physiognomist, he asked him if he knew who he was? The man

replied that he did not, but that he knew one thing respecting him. The Caliph desired to know what that was; and the physiognomist said: "If the youth who is with him be his son, there will come forth from his loins a number of Pharoahs destined to possess the earth and slay whoever attempts to resist them!" On hearing these words, Abd-alMalek turned pale and said, "A monk from Aileh who once saw him with me, pretended that thirteen kings should come forth from his loins, and he described to me the appearance of each."

The house of Abbas had, however, up to this time made no pretence of a claim to the Caliphate. They had not been elected by popular suffrage, neither were they descendants of Ali. Their claim, if they had put forth any, would have been rejected by Sunni and Shia alike. They got over this difficulty with much ingenuity. The authority of the Imamate, they said, had been transferred to them in this manner. On the death of Hoosain—the victim of Kerbela—the office of Imam had passed to his brother, another son of Ali, named Muhammad Ibn al Hanifiya. On the death of Muhammad it passed to his son Abû Hashim; and Abû Hashim having no children of his own, when on his death-bed sent for Abu Abdallah Muhammad and invested him with the dignity of Imam, who, in his turn, transmitted it to his sons.

This story was scouted by the Shias, and with excellent reason. The dignity of Imam is inseparable from the "People of the House," *i.e.*, the lineal descendants of the Prophet, through his daughter Fatima, and Ali her husband. It is this double connection with the Prophet—the affinity of love, not less than the affinity of blood, which gave to the twelve Imams their rights to the allegiance of the faithful. Now Muhammad ibn-al Hanifiya never could have been the Imam, because he was not the son of Fatima, but of Ali and a female slave. On the death of Hoosain, the dignity of Imam passed to his son Abûl Hasan Ali, surnamed Zain-al-Aibadin, (*the ornament of the adorers*), and the validity of this transmission was further confirmed by miracle. For on the death of Hoosain, Muhammad did assert his claim to the Imamate, and with the consent of Zan-al-Aibadin their respective claims were referred to the decision of the black stone, which replied in *excellent Arabic* that Zain-al-Aibadin was the true Imam. This last point may admit of doubt, but it is quite clear without its assistance that the Abbasides had no right whatever to aspire to the position of the Caliph. They felt this themselves; and though their missionaries were disseminated far and wide through Islam, the work of proselytism was not carried on in their name. They professed, like the Shias, to advocate the cause of the "the People of the House." By this means they deceived the people; and in Khorasan especially, they

won over thousands of adherents who believed themselves to be fighting for the house of Ali. When in after times reproached with these perjuries, the Abbasides retorted, not without an appearance of reason, that they too were "People of the House," seeing that their ancestor Abbas, and Abdallah, the father of the Prophet, were brothers.

It was in the hundredth year after the Hejira, that the cloud no bigger than a man's hand first appeared above the horizon in Khorasan. Nasser Seyaur, the Governor of that Province, had kindled a spirit of revolt among the Arab tribes who garrisoned that portion of Islam; and the supineness of the reigning Caliph Merwan, who treated with indifference all his appeals for reinforcements, gave time for discontent to assume the character of a revolution. This was the exact contingency the partisans of the Abbasides had been waiting for. Their leader in Khorasan was Abû Moslem, an emancipated slave, but a man also of tremendous energy, though pitiless and cruel even beyond the measure of his age. He is one of the most striking personalities to be met with in oriental history; "low in stature," says a contemporary, "of a tawny complexion, with handsome features and engaging manners; he was never observed to laugh; the gravest events could hardly disturb the serenity of his countenance; he received news of the most important victories without expressing the least symptom of joy; under the greatest reverses of fortune he never betrayed the slightest uneasiness; and when angered he never lost his self control." Abu Moslem perceived that now was the moment to strike. He gathered his secret adherents around him, and made common cause with the malcontents of Khorasan. The cause was proclaimed to be the rights of "the People of the House" against the usurpations of the Ommeyides. A short time previously a grandson of the Imam Zain-al-Aibadin had been executed on a charge of rebellion, and his body exposed upon a gibbet. This gave Abu Moslem the opportunity of concealing his real purpose, and effectually deceiving the adherents of the Ali. The remains were taken down, and buried with every possible mark of honour, and as a symbol at once of their grief and their resolve to be revenged, Abu Moslem ordered his followers to clothe themselves in black--which colour remained ever after the distinguishing insignia of the House of Abbas. It would take us too far from our proper subject to trace in detail the course of the revolution. Suffice to say that after a great deal of fierce fighting, the partisans of the Caliph Merwan were swept clean out of Khorasan, and the black banners of the rebellion entered Irak. Nothing as yet had been divulged of the ultimate purpose of the movement. "The People of the House" was the watchword everywhere proclaimed, and it

ensured at least the neutrality of the Shia, where it did not obtain his active co-operation. But at length, the city of Cufah—the very stronghold and centre of the family of Ali—was delivered over by a sort of popular vote to the chiefs of the insurrection, and the policy of concealment could be maintained no longer. The excitable populace of Cufah were wrought up to the highest pitch of impatience and curiosity, as Hasan Kotbah—the lieutenant of Abu Moslem filed into the city at the head of his troops. Rumour of course was busy with her hundred tongues as to the next event in the great drama unfolding before them. Kotbah continued to dissimulate to the last moment. Abu Selmah Jaffier—the agent for the Family of the Prophet, waited upon him, and was received with all possible ceremony and honor. A joint proclamation was issued in his name and in that of Kotbah, inviting the inhabitants to meet next day at the principal mosque. At the appointed hour, the mosque was crowded, not a person of respectability stayed away. The object of the assembly had been studiously concealed, and the curiosity of the multitude was intense. It was however doomed to remain yet awhile unsatisfied, Abu Selmah, after conducting the public prayer as usual, simply prorogued the assembly, requesting all who could mount a horse or put on armour to appear the next day in the same place arrayed in black, to swear allegiance to the new Caliph. The delay was necessary to gain time for the work of secret corruption to be brought to a successful conclusion. Abu Selmah was won over, and probably, though it is not expressly stated, most of the principal men of the city. The fickleness of the people of Cufah had passed into a proverb. Like the men of Athens, the people of Cufah seemed to have spent their time in nothing else but either to tell or to hear some new thing. Stiff in opinions, and always in the wrong—at least always insisting upon the logic of their convictions at utterly inappropriate seasons,—they were "every thing by turns and nothing long." Ever since the death of Ali, they had never ceased to fluctuate between two opinions—now espousing the cause of his family, and shedding their blood like so much water in its defence—then with a sudden revulsion of feeling, abandoning them to slaughter, nay, even actively aiding in their destruction. Their loyalty to the Imam had invariably proved to be but the kisses of a Delilah luring her victim to his death; and they were about to give the most memorable illustration of this infidelity, which seems to have proceeded more from a constitutional instability of temperament than from deliberate treachery.

On the next morning at break of day the whole of Cufah appeared completely shrouded in black; the people hastened to the mosque in prodigious crowds, in black turbans and vestures, and

with black banners floating above them. In due time, Abu Selmah appeared also clothed in black. After leading the prayers he turned to the people and asked of them if they were willing to acquiesce in the act he was about to make known to them. They demanded an explanation. He then proceeded to say that Abu Moslem, the leader of the insurrection, had determined to deliver the world from the tyranny of the House of Ommeya. With this purpose in view he had sought for a new leader in Islam, but had discovered nowhere, a person so eminent for piety and ability as Ali, the son of Muhammad, the great grandson of Abbas, of the House of Hashim, and of the Family of the Prophet. Him, therefore, he had selected, and he now hoped that his choice would be confirmed by the approbation of the Faithful in Cufah. The air was rent with the shouts of the applauding multitude; the assembly declared with the voice of one man that the choice must have been the result of a divine inspiration; and the awful shout of "God is most powerful" was caught up and repeated again and again by the enthusiastic crowd.

This lucky Ali was at this very moment concealed in Kufah in the house of Abu Selmah, and a messenger was despatched to bring him. He soon appeared, clothed from head to foot in sable garments, and riding upon a she-camel. He ascended the pulpit and delivered an address, setting forth his zeal for Islam, and his rights to the Imámate. A few days before he would assuredly have been destroyed as a heretic had he ventured to claim the dignity of Imam in a Cufah mosque, but that time was past. For the moment, at least, the people of Cufah were anything rather than critical; and the young Caliph had no sooner quitted the pulpit, than the frantic crowd trampled each other down in their endeavours to get forward, and proffer—each man personally—their allegiance to their new sovereign. This scene took place on Friday, 12th of the first Rebi. A.H. 132, (28th October A.D. 749).

The proceeding at Cufah at last aroused the Caliph Merwan from his unaccountable apathy. He marched out of Damascus to give battle to the insurgents. Like all the sovereigns of his family, Merwan was a soldier of distinguished courage and skill; and but for an accident he might yet have suppressed the revolt. The two armies fronted each other in the vicinity of Cufah, and the battle was just joining when Merwan's horse broke loose from the attendant holding it, and galloped riderless through the ranks of the army. Believing their leader to be killed, the Caliph's troops flung away their arms and fled in every direction. No further resistance was made. The march of the Abbasides to Damascus was a triumphal progress. The cities every where flung open their gates, and the inhabitants clothed in black received the victorious troops with shouts and acclamations.

Even Damascus submitted without an attempt at resistance. The unhappy Merwan, in the meanwhile, with the wreck of his army, had fled through Syria and Palestine and reached the confines of Egypt. Ten thousand men followed hard upon his traces. He retreated, burning and wasting the country behind him, until he reached Fostât, the ancient capital of Egypt. But fatigue and despair had diminished the number of his followers; he continued his flight along the Western bank of the Nile, his attendants falling away at every march, until he was left with only a single domestic. He had laid down to take a little rest in a small Christian chapel, when the place was surrounded by his pursuers. Determined to sell his life dearly, the fallen Caliph rushed out sword in hand, and fell transfixed with a lance. Thus perished the last Eastern Caliph of the House of Ommeya.

Abdallah, the uncle of the Abbaside Caliph, had in the meanwhile, assumed the government of Damascus and as soon as he received intelligence of the death of Merwan, he proclaimed his nephew the sole legitimate Caliph in Islam. The Ommeyides, terrified and hopeless, sought only to conceal themselves. Abdallah, however, had contrived a snare to get them into his power. He caused a general amnesty to be published for all members of the House of Ommeya, and all partisans who would repair to the palace, and take an oath of allegiance to the new Caliph. The adherents of the fallen dynasty rejoiced at this unlooked for clemency, and came in great numbers, to the palace. There were no less than eighty kinsmen and relatives of the late Caliph, besides a crowd of followers and attendants. The treacherous Abdallah mingled in the assemble with a smiling and friendly expression of countenance. But while he appeared to dispose himself, so as to receive the homage of the unsuspecting chiefs, his soldiers also formed a circle round the Ommeyides. At a preconcerted signal they fell upon their victims, beating them to the ground with blows from heavy maces. A single member of the family alone effected an escape; and simultaneously with the slaughter within the palace, the servants and followers outside were pitilessly massacred. When all was over, or seemed to be, Abdallah ordered the eighty bodies to be arranged in rows, and covered with planks. On this dreadful table, a gorgeous banquet was then spread for his officers and chief men, to heighten their rejoicing so he said, with "the last gasps of the Ommeyides" This atrocious massacre, though perpetrated by his uncle, obtained for the young Caliph the title of "the Bloodshedder."

But a dynasty founded upon treachery, and cemented by innocent blood, lacked every element of stability. This the Princes of the House of Abbas perceived clearly enough; but the only remedy that seemed to suggest itself was to persevere in the

barbarous policy they had adopted. The adherents of the Ommeyyides were slaughtered wherever found; the descendants of Ali were put to death, and their property confiscated upon the smallest pretexts; and the jails were crowded with political prisoners awaiting their sentence. These harsh measures engendered rebellion as a matter of course; revolts produced reprisals; and reprisals only served to intensify animosities already burning at a white heat. The Arab tribes in Syria were devoted partisans of the expelled dynasty; and their unceasing revolts, their bitter and unrelenting hostility, compelled the Abbasides to abandon Damascus—the ancient capital of Islam—for the new city of Baghdad. The Shias were not less active. In the year 145 (A.D. 762) Muhammad, a great grandson of the Imam Hoosain raised the standard of revolt in the Hejaz, put to death all the representatives of the Caliph Al Mansur, and was prayed for as the legitimate Imam in the sacred cities of Mecca and Medins. This sedition was still unquelled when Ibrahim, the brother of this Muhammad persuaded the inconstant people of Cufah to cast aside the black garments they had donned so recently, and with such frantic enthusiasm, and range themselves once again on the side of the veritable people of the house. The death of Ibrahim by a chance arrow put an end to this rebellion. The turbulent spirit then broke forth in Khorasan; Mokanna, the celebrated "veiled prophet of Khorasan" filled the valley of the Sogd with the clamour of war. The fearful severities of the Caliph Al Haudy succeeded in obtaining a brief respite; but Harún Al Rashid had no sooner mounted the throne, than the flames of civil war broke out once more. At Mecca and Medina, and in the inaccessible province of Tabreez, partisans of the House of Ali drove out the representatives of the Baghdad Government; and up to the very day of Harún's death, large portions of Islam were in open revolt against him.*

* We know of few events in history more ghastly and terrible than the death of this cruel and vindictive monarch,—almost the worst, if not the very worst, of all the Caliphs. An insurrection had broken out in Khorasan under the leadership of one Raueffia. In one of the engagements, the troops of the Caliphs made a prisoner of Besheir, Rauffia's brother. He was sent to Tons, where Haroun Al Rashid lay upon a bed of sickness in daily expectation of death. "Thou adversary of God!" said the dying Caliph, as the prisoner was brought into his presence, "by thy malice and that of thy brother in subverting my authority in Khorasan have I been com-

pelled to undertake this painful journey. But by Him who created Haroun, thou shalt perish by a death so painful, that its agonies shall infinitely surpass all that has ever yet been known." Then dying as he was he sent for the executioner, and ordered him there and then to dissect the prisoner, limb from limb. Each member as it was separated from the agonised body was laid before the revengeful Caliph, piece by piece to the number of fourteen,—the object being to protract suffering to the last possible degree, before the actual extinction of consciousness. The deed accomplished, Haroun swooned away, and died two days after.

The contest for the Caliphate between the two sons of Harun—Al Amin, and Al Mamun—roused all the early hopes, and more than the first enthusiasm, of the Shias. They broke out in Khorasan, in Busora, in the Hejaz and in Yemen. The Hejaz and Yemen *never* after yielded more than a nominal submission to the house of Abbas. They remained a secure refuge for the partisans of Ali, and put themselves under the rule of the Fatimite Caliphs as soon as that dynasty established itself in Egypt. The Caliph Al Mamun—a liberal and far-seeing potentate—felt that these internal convulsions, unless appeased at once, must speedily rend the Empire into fragments. The policy of persecution had been tried and failed utterly. He determined to have recourse to the policy of conciliation. The living representative of the house of Ali at this time was Abúl Hasan Ali, the eighth Imam. To him Mamun gave the surname *Ar Rida* or *the accepted*, as signifying the destiny in store for him; gave him his daughter Omm Habib in marriage; caused his name to be inscribed on the currency in conjunction with his own, and proclaimed him as his future successor to the dignity of the Caliphate. But the Abbasides of Irak were not prepared to fall in with this policy of renunciation. They declared Mamun to be, *ipso facto*, deposed, and transferred their allegiance to his uncle, Ibrahim Ibn Al Mahdi. *This caused Mamun* to quit Meru and march in all haste to Baghdad. The "Accepted" in the most opportune manner died during the march, and as Mamun in after days obtained a very disagreeable notoriety by the murder of any one who stood in his way, it is not surprising to find that he was suspected of poisoning the Imam, as the easiest means of cutting the knot of his difficulties. At any rate the death of Ar Rida had the happiest results. Baghdad opened her gates without opposition; the temporary Caliph Ibrahim retired precipitately into private life, remaining hidden for three years in the disguise of a woman; Mamun, for his part, resumed the black garments and other insignia of the house of Abbas, and nothing more was heard of a restoration of the house of Ali. But this momentary glimpse of the desired haven had necessarily the effect of adding a fresh sting to the bitterness of defeat. The Shias became, if possible, more utterly implacable than ever. The insurrection of Babek, which was not put down till long after the death of Mamun, the wars of the Carmathians, and finally the rise of the Fatimites denote the growing strength of the Shia, the decreasing vigour of the Sunni. The death of the "Martyr" Hoosain was, in truth, bloodily avenged. Until both parties fell crushed beneath the mace of the Mongol, the history of Islam is little else than the history of a long religious war between these two opposing sects. The rise of "the assassins" marks its culminating point.

But these repeated outbreaks had also other effects which completely altered the character of the Caliphate, and gradually eradicated Arab rule out of Central Asia. These insurrections were all along strictly Arabic in their character. The vanquished populations took little or no interest in these nice points about the Imamate. And the repeated defeats and sweeping reprisals had the effect of gradually weeding the Arabic element out of Central Asia; and compelling the Caliphs to seek for more loyal subjects among the conquered races. This, again, had the double result of converting the Caliph himself, from an Arab chief into a Despot of the old Persian type; and of making Baghdad the scene of that splendid but transient revival of letters, which has won for the Arabs their chief place in the gratitude of posterity. This revival was not, however, of an Arabic character at all, but a combination of Greek and Syrian; and had its origin in the mental activity inspired by fragments of Aristotle and Plato translated by Christians of Syria, first into Syriac, and then into Arabic.

For the first hundred years after the conquest of Asia by the Arabs, the policy of persecution on account of religion was of course carried out against the conquered peoples, who did not embrace Islamism; and more especially against the Christians. They were treated very much as the Jews were dealt with in Christendom; though the balance of toleration is, we think, rather in favour of the Muhammadan. Not only by actual exclusion from every post, however subordinate, under Government, but by every kind of ingenious humiliation they were made to feel their infinite inferiority to the Faithful. "The *Zimmis*" (*i.e.*, unbelievers, but mainly Christians) says one of several *Fatwas* we have seen, "are not to ride on horses or mules, or valuable asses; and they are on no account to make use of highly ornamented saddles. The *Zimmis* are not to collect together in the public roads for purposes of conversation; they are not to walk along the pathway so as to encumber the free progress of the Faithful; they are not to be permitted to speak with a loud voice in the presence of the Faithful; neither are they permitted to have servants following them; and still less are they to have domestics clearing the road before them. They are on no account to wear fine clothing, but to go about in public attired in plain and coarse garments; their houses must not rise higher than those of the Moslems about them, and they are not permitted to decorate the exteriors. It is the duty of the Princes in Islam, to whom God has given authority, to forbid all such practices, and to punish and chastise those who continue to practise them." The manner of paying the tribute or head-tax imposed on all unbelievers is laid down as follows:—"The *Zimmi*, Christian or Jew, shall go in person, upon the day fixed, and not

by the agency of a *vakeel*, to the house of the official charged with the duty of collecting the poll-tax ; the latter is to be seated on an elevated dais, in fashion like a throne ; the *Zimmi* will come forward, carrying the tax in the palm of his hand ; from whence the officer will take it in such a manner that his hand shall be above, and that of the *Zimmi* below. After this, the officer will strike the *Zimmi* a blow with his fist on the nape of his neck ; and a man will stand ready near the officer, thereupon to hustle the *Zimmi* forcibly out of the room ; then a second, then a third, presenting themselves in like manner, will be subjected to similar treatment as well as all who shall follow. All the Faithful shall be admitted to enjoy this spectacle. It shall not be permitted to any of them to employ a deputy for the payment of this tax ; it is necessary that they should experience, each in his own person, this mark of humiliation ; because, perhaps, they will thereby be brought to believe in God and his Prophet."

To the unspeakable scandal of the Faithful this wholesome and righteous discipline began to fall into disuse with the accession of the Abbasides. These Princes had enemies they hated and dreaded worse than the *Zimmis*, and they devised the policy of playing the one off against the other. Al Mansur, the second of the line, appears to have initiated the new practice. He made use of Christian agency to establish a system of espionage over the adherents of the fallen house ; and the Muhammadans of his time who had hitherto had the exclusive privilege of oppressing whom they pleased, are loud in their outcries over the intolerable sufferings of the Faithful under this new system. We read, indeed, occasionally of this or that Caliph, impelled by the threats and lamentations of the orthodox, making half-hearted endeavours to put matters back on their old footing. But it was now beyond the power of man to do so. The few simple rules of government laid down in the Koran were altogether insufficient to meet the complex needs of a vast empire. The Arabs, clinging pertinaciously to the tribe life of the desert were utterly incompetent to cope with these new difficulties or even to understand them. It was at this juncture that the conquered races—the Syrians and Persians—came forward with the offer of their services. The one under the old Persian Kings, the other under the monarchs of Constantinople, had acquired that practical acquaintance with the art of government which was lacking to the Arab. They undertook to make the seemingly inflexible Koran adapt itself to the new and unforeseen order of things. By their combined ingenuity—and the happy idea of collecting together the traditional sayings of the Prophet, and placing them on a level with the Koran in authority—the old formulas were made to stretch so as so cover the new facts. This is the explanation of the circumstance

noted by Ibn Khaldoun in his *Prolegomena*. "It is," he says, "a curious circumstance that the majority of the learned amongst the Moslems belonged to a foreign race; very few persons of Arabian descent having obtained distinction in the sciences connected with the law or in those based upon human reason; and yet the promulgator of the law was an Arab, and the Koran, that source of so many sciences, an Arabic work."

Every succeeding reign saw Jews, Christians, and Persians assuming that legitimate influence which belongs to superior intellect; and the Muhammadan writers complain loudly that before the death of Mamun, they had almost everywhere supplanted the Faithful, and filled the highest offices in all the Provinces. But this contact with mental activity moving outside of the narrow circle of Islamism inspired the liberal and inquiring mind of Mamun with a passionate eagerness in the hunt after knowledge. He had philosophical *conversazioni* in his palace, which are thus described by an amazed and utterly scandalised Muhammadan. "At the first *séance* I attended, not only were there present Moslems of every sect, orthodox and heterodox, but mis-believers, fire-worshippers, materialists, atheists, Jews, Christians—in a word, sceptics of every kind. Each sect had its own chief, charged to defend the opinions it professed; and every time that one of these chiefs entered the hall, all present arose in sign of respect, and not a man resumed his seat until the new comer had taken his. The hall was soon filled, and when the assembly was complete, one of the unbelievers spoke as follows:—'We are,' said he, 'assembled here together for the purpose of discussion; you all understand the conditions; you others, you Moslems, are not to meet us by reasons taken from your Book or founded on the authority of your Prophet; as we believe in neither the one nor the other. Every one is to limit himself to arguments based upon that reason that is common to all.' Every one applauded these words." "You can imagine," says the teller of this story, "that having heard such things I did not remain in that assembly."* Out of the confluence of these different convictions arose a party in Islam,—the sect of the Motazales—which resembled in many points, the Broad Church Party in the English Church. The orthodox belief regarding the Koran answers in some respect to that regarding the Bible which is held by the believers in verbal inspiration. The Koran is said to be the *very* word of God, eternal and uncreated, remaining, as some express it, in the very essence of God. Everything that is in it is

* This particular *séance* did not take place until after Mamun's death, but as it exactly resembles those which originated with him, we have quoted the above passage in the present connection.

imposed upon the believer, by one divine authority, and to offend in the least is as bad as to offend in the greatest. As we pointed out in our first paper, a belief of this kind is simply the death-warrant of progress. The man or the nation possessed by it, sinks inevitably into imbecility, as an iron fetter will gradually eat into the limb it enchains. The Motazales strove to liberate the conscience from this iron bondage. They held that Muhammad was himself the author of the Koran, and that being such the precepts in that book were amenable to change and even to complete abrogation; they denied the absolute predestination of mankind, asserting man to be a free agent, and God not the author of evil but of good only; they protested that there could be no saving efficacy in the mere profession of the Unity, but that a (so called) believer who committed sin would assuredly be punished hereafter, however unimpeachable his orthodoxy might be.

Centuries of progression lay, germ-like, in these propositions could they ever have filtered down, and struck their roots in the hearts of the people. But they never did. The literature that can raise a people to a higher level of thought and action must be born, as it were, from the bosom of the people themselves. The Truth which it seeks to inculcate may—nay, must—be capable of universal application; but the form must be intensely national. The combination of these two seemingly antagonistic types of character has been the distinctive characteristic of all the greatest thinkers, from Homer to the present day; and therein lies the secret of their power and their immortal life. There is only one Eastern nation, the Jewish, which has produced a literature of this kind; and they are the one Eastern people who can, with truth, be honoured with the name of "nation"—the one Eastern people who have been conscious of a *national purpose* which preserved them from generation to generation, as a living organism. The teaching of Psalmists and Prophets is as wide and deep as human nature, because it has its roots in a profound and fervent patriotism. The Koran could never produce anything akin to this; it resolves mankind into a multitude of isolated units,—cunningly contrived pieces of mechanism, worked by an inscrutable Fate. The Christian idea of a guiding and illuminating spirit holding secret converse with the hearts of men, and leading them towards the light which has had such potent effects in Europe, by casting, as it were, a mysterious and sanctifying glory around all intellectual products, could only enter surreptitiously into the heart of a good Moslem. "There is no God but God, and Muhammad is His Prophet" implied that apart from the Koran there was no pathway open to a knowledge of the Deity. The denizens of this world were either believers or

unbelievers ; and there was an end of the whole matter. The one would go to heaven, and the other to hell.

The literature of Baghdad was far too artificial a product to have a chance of rooting itself in such an unpromising soil. It sprang out of no pressing spiritual needs ; it possessed no originality ; it was servilely imitative ;—nothing more in fact than a carefully nurtured exotic to ornament the palace of an Eastern despot. It never took, and never was intended to take a practical turn or to become a guide for conduct ; and the glimpses of truth struck out here and there, were almost instantaneously lost in the mists of allegory, or vanished down the abysses of mysticism. But with this uprising of Persian and Syrian elements there came also a corresponding change in the position and authority of the Caliph. These subject races, both by immemorial tradition and early education had a profound and abject veneration for the person of the sovereign. The ancient Kings of Persia, the old Cæsars of Rome had been always regarded by them as beings more than human, and they soon succeeded in investing the Caliph of Islam with the same preternatural attributes. The Arab withdrew in deep disgust from the servile ceremonial which expressed this new conception of royal authority to the freedom of his native deserts, and Asia became the prey of a new master, far more fierce and inhuman. The people of Syria and Persia could elevate their sovereign to the position of a God ; but enervated by centuries of despotic rule, they were powerless to defend him. For such a purpose the Caliphs needed men, like the Arabs, inured to hardship and exposure, indifferent to bloodshed and strong in heart and limb. These they found in the Turcomans.

The name of Tartary has been given in Europe to that immense region extending almost entirely across Asia from the Caspian Sea to the Eastern Ocean. The most Eastern Division of Tartary is the country of the Mantchous which fills up the interval between China and Siberia, having the Sea of Japan as its Eastern boundary and the Hingun Mountains on the West. On the Western limits of this division commence the almost boundless plains roamed over by the tribes of Mongolia ; and to the West again of Mongolia, is Independent Tartary, comprising Bokhara, Khiva, Khokand, and other small States. It was this part of Asia that was the home of the Turcomans. According to the learned Chinese scholar De Guignes, the ancestors of these Turks or Turcomans were a people dwelling to the north of the Northern Provinces of China, and known to ancient Chinese Historians as "the Barbarians of the Mountains." Two thousands years, he tells us, before the birth of Christ we obtain our first glimpse of this people, living in tents pitched upon carts, and moving in these travelling

houses along the banks of the rivers, and over the plains which promised to furnish the best pasture for their flocks. For the next fifteen hundred years only some fitful gleams—few and far between—illuminate the obscurity of Chinese History, but we can discern by the uncertain glimmer vast hordes of these barbarians entering the Northern Provinces of China, and spreading misery and devastation in every direction. The Great wall of China was constructed (B.C. 210) as a protection against their terrible raids. When at length the darkness has altogether been dissipated we find these barbarians, united into a great and powerful nation under a single sovereign. For two centuries and a half they continued to be the scourge of the Chinese dominions. Advance towards civilisation they made none. They practised none of the arts of a sedentary life. They built no cities: they carried on no trade. They lived by plunder; their amusements were the chase and the foray. In their dreadful and monotonous history, as depicted to us by the marvellous industry of De Guignes, we hear of nothing year after year but huge swarms of horsemen, traversing the country, either pursuing or pursued, harrying, plundering and burning. So it goes on until the close of the first century after Christ, when the reader is greatly rejoiced to find that the Barbarians have fallen into a disunited and utterly feeble condition—that on all their frontiers, swarms of infuriated Chinese are pressing in,—that a terrible famine has come in to aid the avengers—that one great battle after another utterly breaks up their power, and terminates "the Empire of the Huns" after a duration of about 1323 years. The very name of Huns was lost and forgotten; a portion of the conquered people being absorbed into other tribes, and a portion finding new homes for themselves in what we now call Western or Independent Tartary, where they became known by the name of "Turks."

It was not until nearly the close of the first century after the Hejira that the banners of Islam were carried into the regions beyond the Oxus and, only after a great deal of hard fighting that the Oases of Bokhara and Samarkand were annexed to the dominions of the Caliph. In these struggles a large number of Turks, men, women, and children, were necessarily made prisoners, and disseminated as slaves through Asia. The women were remarkable for their beauty. "Ah!" sighs Hafiz, in one of his prettiest lyrics; "If that Turkish girl of Shiraz would but take possession of my heart, I would give for the black mole on her cheek the riches of Samarkand and Bokhara." The men were remarkable for their commanding stature, their courage in the field, and their extraordinary capacity for affairs. In course of time they were converted to the Muhammadan faith, and there being no exclusive aristocracy or govern-

ing class in Islam, they frequently rose to positions of trust and importance. Their numbers too multiplied apace, and when the Arabs deserted them, the Caliphs sought for soldiers among these new subjects. As early as the Caliphate of Al Mansur—the second of the Abbasides—two Turkish officers had been enrolled in the Imperial Service, and these probably had subordinates of the same race under them. Half a century later the fierce wars which attended the accession of Mamun compelled him to recruit his armies largely from the same human reservoir; and under the reign of his brother and successor Mutassem, the main part of the army and the entire bodyguard of the Caliph were composed of Turks. Their numbers are said to have exceeded seventy thousand. A more formidable apparition in the midst of a feeble and nerveless populace it would be difficult to imagine. The Aral was a fierce untameable savage enough, but he did acknowledge the restrictive power of certain rules. He was possessed by a profound veneration for the person of the Caliph. He confessed, however imperfectly, that he was the worker-out of a purpose not altogether his own.* These and similar counteracting influences, against the simple law of the strongest, contributed greatly to mitigate the lot of the vanquished. But the Turk was merely an astute barbarian who embraced Islamism because it *paid* him to do so. He had no reverence for the weak and helpless Despot he was intended to defend, and the sacred city of Baghdad was nothing to him, but a vast store house of treasure, which, as the strongest element there, he had an undoubted right to plunder. The Turks speedily began to exercise a frightful tyranny over the people; who in revenge murdered every Turkish soldier they happened to meet alone. The animosity reached such a height that the Caliph Al Mutassem, fearing for his life, abandoned Baghdad, and took up his abode at Samarra, eighty or a hundred miles to the north of that city. His depar-

* The following story may be quoted as an illustration. Omar, the ninth Caliph of the House of Ommeya, sent a circular letter to the Governors of Provinces, cautioning them against admitting *Zimmis* to any of the State offices because, as he said, there could be "neither judgment nor experience among those who provoke the anger of God and of the Prophet." "He wrote also," our authority tells us, "to Haian, his Lieutenant in Egypt, to conform to these orders." The latter replied in these words; "O Prince of Believers! if such a state of things endures for any time in Egypt all the

Zimmis will become Moslems, and the revenues will be lost which they bring to the Imperial Treasury." Omar sent a special Commissioner to Haian, charged with this order, "strike Haian thirty blows on the head with a whip as a punishment for the wicked words he has uttered; and tell him that every soul who shall embrace Islamism shall be exempted from the capitation tax. I should be beyond measure happy if all the *Zimmis* became Moslems, for God sent His Prophet to do the work of an Apostle, not to act as a Collector of taxes."

ture removed the last restraint on the excesses of the soldiery. The city struggled fiercely for a time against its savage tyrants, and again and again the streets ran red with the blood shed in the desperate conflicts between the populace and the soldiery. But recruits kept pouring in from beyond the frontier to fill up the gaps occasioned by these street fights, and the Turkish yoke fixed itself too firmly to be shaken off. The Turkish militia crowned this first act of their career, by the murder of the Caliph Al Mutawakel, the son of Mutassem; and from that time the Turkish Generals were the virtual rulers of Islam. They deposed one Caliph and set up another precisely as they pleased; they compelled one Caliph to resign his dignity by exposing him bareheaded to the sun until he consented; they cut another in pieces with their swords; they killed a third by exposure in the snow, and pouring snow water on his head until he perished miserably. These violent measures were the result of an insatiable greed after money. The highest offices in the State were put up to sale by auction; Caliphs were murdered because some one or other had made an advantageous proposal if he were elected to the next vacancy; and the Turkish Governor of Baghdad actually allowed a celebrated robber, Hamdi, to exercise his profession without restraint, clothing him at the same time with a robe of honour, in return for a monthly payment of 25,000 dinars. The Turkish soldiery in the meanwhile were left without pay, or rather with a tacit permission to get their pay how they could. The most frightful disorders ensued. The soldiery broke open the prisons, and set free the criminals; the roads were beset with robbers; and the houses of the wealthy were repeatedly pillaged with impunity. In A.D. 942, a terrible famine desolated the country round, and the city of Baghdad; the mortality was so great that the dead were flung, without rites or ceremony, into a common trench. The very wives of the Caliph fled famished from the Harem, and sat by the road side to implore the passengers for a morsel of food; even the eating of human flesh is said to have become a common practice. At this fearful time the Turkish Generals did not scruple to levy an enormous tax on wheat, barley, and vegetables, though the prices were already enormous; while, to crown all, the unpaid soldiery spread over the *environs* of the city and carried off the harvest just as it was ripe for the sickle.*

* The Oriental Historian is, in general, so completely absorbed in the contemplation of kings and great men and their doings, that he rarely has the time to take a glance at the common people. The condition of the people of Baghdad during the dismal

rule of the Turks has to be painfully pieced together from a few casual expressions in half-a-dozen historians, but the following note which we find among our papers, will give some idea of the treatment the people met with in those days, and so serve to illustrate

While rapine and disorder thus had their full swing in Baghdad, the empire of the Caliph had fallen into pieces. Arabia had long ago renounced her allegiance; the Fatimites ruled Northern Africa; the descendants of a Turkish slave reigned with unrestricted authority over Egypt. The three sons of Buiah, a Dilemite fisherman were the monarchs of Persia, Tabarestan, Georgia, and Mazanderan. The Samanides—a family sprung from a highway robber, governed all Khorasan, and the country beyond the Oxus, with Bokhara as their capital. The Karmathian Princes issuing from Hasa carried fire and sword up to the very gates of Baghdad. At last (A.H. 334, A.D. 945) some of the chief citizens of Baghdad determined to adopt measure to rid themselves of the intolerable tyranny of these Turkish mercenaries. They held secret conferences on the subject. The princes of the house of Buiah were at this time renowned through Asia for their enterprise, courage, and uniform good fortune. To one of these, Ahmed, they secretly despatched a deputation entreating him to come with speed and deliver them. Shirzad—the Turkish *Emir-ul Omra*—fled at his approach, carrying the Caliph with him, and ordering the Turkish militia to follow. The inhabitants threw open the gates to the young prince, and hailed him as their liberator.

The good order which Ahmed established in Baghdad, the respect he publicly and repeatedly testified for the absent Caliph—the

the sufferings of Baghdad. "During the residence of Tash at Jurjan (A.H. 379) his officers and chief ministers had grievously oppressed the people with fines and requisitions though pestilence and famine were sore in the land. As soon as the news of Tash's death was spread in the city, the populace rose in a mass, and made a furious attack upon the house where the corpse lay. The officers and soldiery fled, and effected their escape from the city only after a severe fight. They halted at a desert place at some distance from Jurjan. The mob, in the meantime, wild with hunger and rage poured out from the city to extirpate their oppressors. But in the open field the soldiers were too strong for them. "The bellies of the wolves," says the historian, "were filled with the carcasses of the dead," and the slaughter was not stayed until the Imams of the City, with other learned and devout men hurried out bearing Korans, and flung themselves be-

tween the soldiers and the the people. As soon as the insurrection was reported at Ispahan, an officer was sent to Jurjan with powers to investigate and punish. Three thousand of the citizens he seized and hung out of hand, as a preliminary measure calculated to restore confidence. Then an inquiry was commenced; and every one, says our authority, was put to death "who during his whole life had for one day taken up an iron weapon, or had made use of weaver's shovels or such things for the purpose of offence." Some of the poor wretches were nailed to trees, others shot to death with arrows, others slain by the executioner's sword; and so "that affair was settled, and the insurrection of these base creatures and originators of injury and malice came to an end. But God knows what is just."

Tarikh-i-Yamini, Reynold's Trans.
P. 110.

eagerness he affected to feel for his speedy return—were of course soon made known to the absent sovereign—Moctafi. He contrived to elude the vigilance of his captors, and returned to the capital. Ahmed received him with the greatest respect and loyalty; and Moctafi on his side loaded him with favours, and spared nothing which could testify to the depth and vivacity of his gratitude. He changed Ahmed's name to *Moezz-eddaulah*, which signifies *He who causes the State to flourish*. He publicly constituted him the *Emir-ul-Omra*, or chief guardian of the State; he added to that dignity new and excessive prerogatives; he caused Moezz-eddaulah to be clothed in a royal robe, and, himself, placed a diadem upon his head; coin was struck in his name, and his name mentioned in the public prayers, immediately after that of the Caliph. This act is important in the History of Islam, as the public and formal abrogation by the Caliph of all direct participation in civil affairs. He lived, thenceforth, in a mysterious seclusion—the Pontiff of Islam. The contact with Persian thought had gradually invested him in the popular mind, with certain supernatural gifts and attributes which did not belong to the first successors of the Prophet. He was, for example, the sole source of authority, in so much that Mahmud of Ghuznee at the very height of his power, felt that his greatness had no legitimate foundation until he had sought and obtained investiture at the hands of the Caliph. Only once a year was the sacred Person of the Imam of Islam exhibited to the gaze of the vulgar. This solitary public appearance has been described by Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Baghdad about this time—most probably, indeed, in the life-time of Moctafi. "The Caliph," he says, "leaves his palace but once every year, viz., at the time of the feast called Ramadan; on which occasion many visitors assemble from distant parts in order to have an opportunity of beholding his countenance. He then bestrides the royal mule, dressed in kingly robes, which are composed of gold and silver cloth. On his head he wears a turban, ornamented with precious stones of inestimable value; but over this turban is thrown a black veil, as a sign of humility, and as much as to say: "See all this worldly honour will be converted into darkness on the day of death." He is accompanied by a numerous retinue of Muhammadan nobles arrayed in rich dresses and riding upon horses, Princes of Arabia, of Media, of Persia, and even of Thibet, a country distant three months' journey from Arabia. The procession goes from the palace to the mosque at the Bozra Gate, which is the metropolitan mosque. All who walk in procession, both men and women, are dressed in silk and purple. The streets and squares are enlivened with singing and rejoicing, and by parties who dance before the great King,

called Caliph. He is saluted loudly by the assembled crowd who cry: "Blessed art thou, our Lord and King!" He thereupon kisses his garment, and by holding it in his hand, acknowledges and returns the compliment. The procession moves on to the court of the mosque where the Caliph mounts a wooden pulpit and expounds their law unto them. The learned Muhammadans rise and pray for him, and praise his great kindness and piety; upon which the whole assembly answer "Amen." The Caliph then pronounces his blessing and kills a camel, which is led thither for that purpose, and this is their offering. It is distributed to the nobles, who send portions of it to their friends, who are eager to taste of the meat killed by the hands of their holy king, and are much rejoiced therewith. The Caliph after this ceremony, leaves the mosque, and returns alone, along the banks of the Tigris, to his palace, the noble Muhammadans accompanying him in boats until he enters this building. He never returns by the way he came; and the path on the bank of the river is carefully guarded all the year round, so as to prevent any one treading in his footsteps. The Caliph never leaves his palace again for a whole year."

The same traveller gives us also some interesting glimpses of Baghdad, as it was in those days. The city was three miles in circumference, rising out of rich clusters of palm trees, and encircled with gardens and orchards—merchants of all countries resorted thither, wise philosophers, and magicians skilled in every kind of enchantment. The palace of the Caliph was three miles in extent, on the opposite bank of the river, containing a large park filled with all kinds of trees, and numerous species of wild animals, and ornamented by a large artificial lake. In the immediate neighbourhood of the palace, the Caliph had caused to be erected large hospitals for the indigent sick. There were about sixty medical warehouses, all well provided at the king's expense; and every patient who needed assistance, was fed at the Caliph's expense until his cure was complete. The palace itself, was a vast range of buildings containing accommodation for all the members of the Caliph's family—brothers, uncles, cousins, and the like. Each of these were bound with chains of iron, and a special officer was attached to each household to prevent their rising in rebellion and murdering the Caliph. In all other respects, says Benjamin, they are much honoured, eat and drink, and lead merry lives, and possess towns and villages. The palace of the great king, he adds, contains large buildings, pillars of gold and silver, and treasures of precious stones.

The Imam of Islam, however, needed the arm of flesh to defend him and his accumulated treasures. This duty was fulfilled by the Emir-ul-Omra. He was the sword of the Church militant,

and occupied in relation to the Caliph a position somewhat similar to that of the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire in relation to the Pope. And like the Emperors, he only too often took advantage of this position to persecute the spiritual power he had undertaken to defend. The post, however, was a highly coveted one. It gave to him who held it, an acknowledged right of precedence over all Muhammadan potentates, and was in consequence fiercely competed for. This enabled the Caliph in some degree to keep his destiny under his own control. Some new adventurer was always rising to power somewhere, whom he could play off with effect against the Emir-ul-Omra, supposing that potentate became too outrageously tyrannical. The dignity remained, with some fluctuations, in the possession of the princes of the house of Buiah—the Buyides as they are termed in Oriental History—until about the middle of the eleventh century, when a sudden revolution made Toghrul Beg—the celebrated founder of the Seljukian Empire—the Lord of Baghdad.

When the huge empire of the Huns was broken up, the shivered fragments had been cast all over the Northern and Central parts of Asia. A part had been absorbed into other tribes and lost their name, and distinguishing characteristics; a part had emigrated Westward, penetrating as far as the steppes of the Volga, and displacing there the tribes which overwhelmed the declining Roman Empire; another portion, as we have already mentioned, was known to the Greek Empire and the Muhammadans, as the Turkish nation; still another fragment remained in Siberia, where they took or acquired the name of the Hoei-ke. They remained in Siberia until they had become a numerous nation when they moved Southward towards the Northern Frontiers of China. During the sixth century they were subjugated by the Khan of the Western Turks; but the barbarities of their conquerors drove them into rebellion, and after a fierce and protracted struggle they wrested a large extent of territory from the Turks, and laid the foundation of an empire which eventually extended over the whole of Eastern Tartary. They were divided into fifteen hordes, each of which was ruled by its own chief; they lived under their tents with countless flocks and herds, and fed upon the milk and flesh of their cattle. A.D. 646, they placed themselves under the protection of the Chinese Empire. The Emperor sent into their country about a thousand Chinese officers who divided the country into divisions, allotting one to the chief of each horde. Sixty-eight posts also were established across the country, where provisions were always kept ready for the use of travellers. Though troubled with frequent revolts, the authority of the Chinese Emperors was acknowledged by the Hoei-ke until about the middle of the eighth century. About that time, the Khan of one of the hordes had succeeded

in establishing an unquestioned supremacy over all. He had also vastly extended the limits of his empire, and he wrung from the Chinese an acknowledgement of his independence. His dominions were bounded on the West by the river Irtisch and the Altai Mountains, and on the East by the river Amoor. His son, Kole Khan, was able to render the most brilliant services to the Chinese Emperor. He marched an army into the Northern Provinces, and crushed with fearful slaughter, a formidable insurrection. He was rewarded by the hand of an Imperial Princess. But the alliance of these barbarians could never be, at best, more than a broken reed to depend upon. The weight of a feather was sufficient to turn them. Ten years later we hear of an immense swarm of Hœi-ke carrying fire and sword through the Province of Chansi. Up to this time the Hœi-ke had lived with the simplicity common to all Tatars. There was no difference between the Prince and the people, but all distinctions of rank were absorbed in the feeling of a common life binding all the hordes together. Intercourse with the Chinese Court corrupted this primitive simplicity. The Khans abandoned the old customs; they built grand palaces, and caused their wives to be magnificently attired. Another century (A.D. 856) passed away with the old monotonous catalogue of wars and massacres—forays into the Chinese dominions—desperate reprisals; one Khan after another dying in battle, or falling beneath the dagger of an assassin. At last the dim outlines of a more than commonly desperate struggle between the two nations come into vision like a landscape seen through driving snow. Among the valleys of the hills which surround Lake Konor the Chinese troops have hemmed in their retreating and wearied enemy. The Hœi-ke are cut to pieces; their prince is wounded; ten thousand prisoners are beheaded on the battle field. The empire is extinguished in the blood of that disastrous struggle. But a portion of the hordes retired Westward, and founded a new kingdom which extended from Kashgar to the frontiers of the Empire of Islam beyond the Oxus. This neighbourhood made them acquainted with the religion of Unity; and a traveller who visited their country shortly after the death of the Caliph Al Mutasem, found the greater part of the people had become Muhammadans. An internal dispute resulted in a large fraction of these hordes separating themselves from the main body, and under the guidance of Seljuk—a celebrated warrior—and emigrating in a mass into the regions beyond the Oxus. The dynasty of the Samanides at this time ruled in Bokhara, and they allotted pasture lands to the wild shepherds, who were known in their new country by the name of "Seljukides." Here they lived for some time, their numbers increasing with extraordinary rapidity, but preserving in the midst of luxury and refinement, the simple barbarism which they had brought with them from

their distant homes on the banks of the Irtisch. Mahmud of Ghuznee committed the fatal error of actually compelling these barbarians to cross the Oxus and settle in Khorasan. His Vizir Arslan in vain pointed out the disastrous consequences of this fatal measure. The Sultan was inflexible, and the Vizir, it is said, actually sickened and died at the thought of the calamities preparing for Asia at the hands of these fierce and turbulent barbarians. Some conception of their numbers may be formed from an anecdote which is related by Mirkhond. The Sultan Mahmud inquired of Issrail, the son of Seljuk, how many Cavalry, in the event of an emergency, could they send to his assistance. The young Turk drew an arrow from the quiver suspended from his shoulder, and laying it before the Sultan, said, "Send that, and one hundred thousand horse will hasten to your aid." "And if more were wanted?" The youth drew forth a second arrow—"This" said he, "would bring fifty thousand more." "And if the crisis were still imminent?" The young leader then laid his whole quiver at the feet of the Sultan—"Send that and two hundred thousand cavalry will speed to your assistance."

The Sultan, it is said, trembled at these words; but the rash deed had been done past recall. It was beyond his power now, to drive these strangers back again across the Oxus. They continued to increase in strength, ranging with their flocks and herds over the broad plains about the City of Meru. Three grandsons of Seljuk,—Toghrul Beg, Bigou and Jaffier-ibn Daoud—ruled over them. At length their ravages in Balkh and Khorasan determined Musaoood,—the son and successor of Mahmud—to make a grand effort to extirpate these barbarians. In the year 428 (A.D. 1037) he marched into the Province of Balkh, threw a bridge across the Oxus, and entered the country beyond. The sudden setting in of winter which threatened to cut him off from Ghuznee compelled him, however, to suspend operations. The Turks emboldened by his retreat surrounded the City of Balkh, and Musaoood was obliged to hurry up by forced marches to save the place from capture. The Seljuks fell back to Meru as the Sultan approached, and from thence sent an embassy to the king, engaging to live in peace and quiet, provided an extension of grazing land was made to them proportionate to their increasing numbers. These proposals were accepted by Musaoood, who then proceeded in the direction of Herat. But he had not advanced beyond a few marches, when the plundering propensities of the Seljuk Turks proved too strong for their amicable engagements. They attacked the rear guard of the Sultan and plundered a part of his baggage. Enraged at this treachery and insult, Musaoood turned upon his pursuers, and every prisoner that fell into his hands was executed upon the spot. He continued, his march to Herat, and from thence to Nishapore and Tous. At

Tous, large hordes of Turks again assailed his columns, but were beaten off with heavy loss. But these defeats had no lasting effect on these barbarians. In the spring of A.H. 431, they resumed the field in undiminished strength. Musaood again attacked them not far from Meru; but some of his chief officers abandoned him at the very commencement of the battle, and went over to the enemy. The cry of "treachery" was raised, and the Sultan's army began to fall back in disorder. "But the King" says Ferishta, "undismayed even by the defection of his officers, gallantly rode to the spot where he perceived the conflict most bloody, performing prodigies of valour unequalled perhaps by any sovereign; but his efforts were vain; for when he looked round he beheld that his whole army, excepting the body which he commanded, *had devoured the paths of light*. The king thus deserted and seeing no hope from the efforts of his single arm, turned his steed, and trampling down the enemy, opened a road for himself with his own sword."

Upon the very scene of their victory the Turks proceeded to the election of a king. A large number of arrows were collected into a bundle; and upon each of these was inscribed the name of a tribe, of a family, and a warrior. A child drew three of the arrows in the presence of the whole army, and chance assigned the throne to Toghrul Beg the grandson of Seljuk. This victory placed Khorasan in the possession of the Seljukides; Nishapore opened her gates to Toghrul Beg; Herat submitted to Jaffier. It was just at this time that the Caliph Kaiem, groaning under the tyranny of the Buides, and the bitter enemy of the Sultans of Ghuznee, despatched an embassy to the Seljuk camp; hoping to find a friend in the rising conqueror. And the news of the victory of Nishapore was no sooner received in Baghdad, than the Caliph caused the name of Toghrul Beg to be inserted in the public prayer. Three years however elapsed before Toghrul Beg made his entry into Baghdad. During that time he was pushing his conquests, North, South, East and West. One dynasty after another was shivered into fragments before the onset of the Seljuk. The sufferings of the people are terrible to think of. These Turks, as we have said, were thorough savages. Corn-fields were trodden down beneath the relentless hoofs of their steeds; orchards and palm groves were given to the flames in order to provide wider pasture land for their flocks and herds. Many parts of Asia, at that time, were in a highly prosperous and flourishing condition. In all the regions of the earth, it was said, there was not a more flourishing or a more delightful country than the district of Bokhara. According to the geographer Ibn Haukal, who wrote in the time of the Samanides, there were only two spots which could be named in the same breath—the river Aileh and the Ghutah of Damascus. But both these, he declares, were vastly

inferior. For eight day's journey, he tells us, the valley of the Togd was all one delightful country, full of gardens, orchards, and villages, cornfields and villas, and running streams; rich meadows giving way to broad pasture downs, and pasture downs to broad stretches of waving corn. Across all this loveliness the hordes of the Seljuks passed like the simoom of the desert. The land was as the Garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness, and nothing escaped them. Toghrul Beg died A.H. 455 (A.D. 1063); but his nephew and successor Alp Arslan carried on the same career of conquest and devastation. Toghrul Beg had, on two or three occasions, invaded the Asiatic territories of the Byzantine Empire, committing fearful havoc and devastation. Alp Arslan carried these partial conquests to completion. He invaded in person the Northern parts of Armenia and Iberia. He laid waste the country in the cruellest manner, for it was the notion of these savages that a country was not really conquered unless it was also depopulated. Iberia had been long celebrated for the industry of its inhabitants, the wealth of its numerous towns, and the valour of its people. There is no doubt they could have flung back the invaders, had the Byzantine Empire come to their aid. But avarice was the dominant passion of the Emperor Constantine X., and rather than disburse his loved hoards, he preferred to look idly on while his fairest provinces were laid waste and overrun. The country in consequence was compelled to submit to the Seljuk Sultans, and the invaders settling upon it like a flight of locusts, rapidly converted the happiest and most fertile parts of Asia into a scene of poverty and desolation. From Iberia, Alp Arslan passed into Armenia. Ani, the capital, was stormed and taken, after a gallant defence, 6th June 1064. That event was followed by an immense emigration of the people into the provinces of the Byzantine Empire lying to the West and South of their ancient seats. In the meanwhile other bodies of Turks had invaded the provinces of Mesopotamia and Chaldœa. They plundered the open country, putting all the armed men to the sword, and carrying the women and children to the slave markets. They avoided coming in contact with the regular troops. Their plan was to exterminate the cultivators of the soil, and so convert the country into a vast grazing ground. The villages, farm houses, and plantations were everywhere burned down; and the wells filled up. In this way they succeeded in rendering the country so unfit for human habitation, that entire districts of Asia Minor were left vacant before the Seljuk power was able to conquer the cities.

The same policy was continued under Malek Shah—the son and successor of Alp Arslan. Innumerable hordes were instructed to plunder the Roman Empire. The standard of the Prophet floated

over the walls of Edessa, Iconium, Tarsus, and Antioch. Nicæa became the capital of the Seljuk Governor of that portion of Asia. Another army wrested Syria from the hands of the Fatimites, and the black flag of the Abbasides floated once more from the ramparts of Jerusalem. The broken fragments of Islam were united after a fashion, but the combining power was no longer Arabic but Turkish. It was a complete and radical change of dominion.

The new state of things brought with it no pledge of permanence. The germs of decay and dissolution were implanted from the first, deep in its constitution. The Turks, as we have said repeatedly, were utter barbarians. They brought with them no principles of government; they founded no institutions; they acknowledged no duties towards the subject populations. The courts of Alp Arslan and Malek Shah blazed, it is true, with barbaric splendour; but their subjects were but nomadic shepherds—shepherds who blended the warlike with the pastoral character. Their position in Asia was precisely similar to that held by the Mahrattas in India at the height of their power; like them they did not conquer a province, but merely encamped upon it; like them they were a vast horde of Cavalry spread over the richest provinces of Central Asia to eat the fat of the land. At the head of each horde was a chief, nominally dependent upon Malek Shah, but virtually independent, and watching only for an opportunity to assume that position in name as well as in fact. So long as Malek Shah lived, the commanding genius of his minister Nizam-ul-Mulk held these discordant elements together. But the minister knew that the task was beyond the power of any other living person, and only a few days before his death, he predicted that his death and the disruption of the Seljukian Empire would be simultaneous. He spoke truly. The death of Malek Shah, was followed by a fierce struggle between two of his sons for the vacant throne; and every Emir took advantage of the confusion to assume the position of an independent sovereign. Nicæa, Jerusalem, Aleppo, Damascus—in fact almost every city of importance in Asia Minor developed suddenly into a principality in a state of chronic warfare with all its neighbours. The history of Asia is again lost sight of in a confused tumult of battles, marches, and sieges, plots and counter-plots, murders and dethronements, utterly wearisome to read, and almost beyond the power of human insight to unravel. This was the very element in which the sect of "the Assassins" would flourish best; and in Persia or Asia Minor—wherever disorder is highest—we see amid the noise and confusion the gleam of their daggers as they strike some illustrious victim to the grave. They were the last and most fearful outcome of centuries of misrule. The sect could not have existed as an organisation for a single year

had there been anywhere, a really hearty and honest desire to suppress it. But there was not. The times were wholly out of joint; centuries of aimless and pitiless war had seared the consciences, and rendered utterly callous the hearts of high and low alike. Wealth and power were held to be the sole prizes of life; and in the mad pursuit after these, principles of right and justice and honour were spurned aside as worthless encumbrances. There was always some Prince who needed an assassin to rid him of a rival he feared or friend he distrusted, and who was ready to pay for the deed with his purse and his protection. And thus, though he never put an army in the field, the Grand Master of the Assassins never lacked an ally. As for the body of the people, they were in general indifferent, though now and again they broke out in fits of fanatical fury against these impious heretics. They looked upon the Grand Master as only one more potentate added to the body of those inevitable evils, that, like plague and famine, blight and earthquake harassed and tormented them. His daggers were not specially directed against them. Why should they specially endeavour to rid the world of him? And so it came about that a dynasty which owed its very existence to the practice of assassination, and was known to do so, was enabled to flourish intact for more than two hundred years.

R. D. O.

To be continued.

ART. IV.—THE BENGAL POLICE.

- 1.—*The Fifth Report from the Select Committee on the affairs of the East India Company.* Vol. I. Bengal Presidency. London, 1812.
- 2.—*An Act for the Regulation of Police.* Act V. of 1861.
- 3.—*Report on the village watch of the Lower Provinces of Bengal.* By D. J. McNeile, C.S., Magistrate on special duty, Calcutta, 1866.
- 4.—*The village Chowkeedaree Act.* Act VI. of 1870. (B. C.)
- 5.—*Report on the Police of the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency for the year 1871.* By Colonel J. R. Pughe, Inspector-General of Police, Lower Provinces. Calcutta, 1872.
- 6.—*The Bengal Municipalities' Bill, 1872.* Part XII. Third Class Municipalities, Secs. 257—270.

“**T**HAT the Police in India has lamentably failed in accomplishing the ends for which it was established, is a notorious fact; that it is all but useless for the prevention, and sadly inefficient for the detection of crime, is generally admitted. Unable to check crime, it is with rare exceptions unscrupulous as to its mode of wielding the authority with which it is armed for the functions which it fails to fulfil; and has a very general character for corruption and oppression. There is, moreover, a want of general organization; the force attached to each division is too much localized and isolated, and the notion of combination between any separate parts of it, with the view of accomplishing the great objects of a body of police, is seldom entertained.” This was the unfavourable verdict passed upon the old police establishments of India by the Court of Directors in 1856. It is hardly less applicable to the present condition of this traditionally unsatisfactory department. The evils with which we have to contend are to be found, now not less than then, in the character and want of organization of the Police.

To state the chief causes of the inefficiency of the Police in this Presidency, and to suggest a remedy for the evils of the existing system are the objects of the present paper.

And first historically.

The village watchman has been an institution in India from time immemorial. It appears certain that from the most ancient times this functionary has composed an integral part of that Hindu village community which once everywhere existed, and which it is now in many quarters so anxiously desired to revive.

He was, in all probability, a close and complete representative of his modern counterpart. His customary duties seem to have corresponded with those required from the watchmen of the present day by positive enactment of the legislature. The distinctive features of the Bengal Chowkeedar have always been identical. The constitution of the rural police, though unique in itself, has never changed. The watchman of old was like our own creation in that he was a member of an hereditary thieving class of the population and irresponsible for his behaviour except to the village community by whom he was maintained.

As, however, we approach within the Mussulman or historic period, the system of police in this country undergoes a modification. It was under the influence of the Mogul settlement that the village communities lost their municipal character and became collections of individual subjects of the State. Every consideration was subordinated to the successful working of the revenue establishment. Absolute power was concentrated in the hands of the chief local revenue officer of Government. The village watchmen, placed as they were at the entire disposal of the Zemindar, were as frequently employed in the extortion of rent as in their legitimate duties of watch and ward. They became servants of the State to be used at will in different branches of the administration. And not only the watchmen, but every class of revenue servant was liable to be called out, at any time, for the preservation of the public peace and the apprehension of evil-doers. The officers employed in the collection of the sayer or impost duties, and stationed at the *gunjes* or commercial depôts of grain, in the *bazaars* or markets, and at the *hauts* or fairs, were utilized indiscriminately for the purpose of these collections, and for the protection of the inhabitants and frequenters of those places. No separate police force was entertained by the State. The Zemindars were held as directly responsible for the whole police administration of the country as for the collection of the revenue. As it is the tendency of Asiatic Governments to incline to the establishment of individual authorities from the sovereign downwards, so it is consistent with this principle that the local revenue officers were unreservedly entrusted with maintaining the peace of their own districts. In his official engagement the Zemindar became bound to apprehend murderers, robbers, house-breakers, and malefactors. If he failed in producing the robber, or the thing stolen, he was answerable to the injured person for the amount of the loss. If the zemindaree was farmed, the farmer who possessed the mofussil authority incurred the responsibility. The means thus provided were ample for keeping the peace, and when properly directed could not fail of efficiency from the great number of men who might at any time be called forth for the

defence and security of the public, consisting, as we have seen, not only of the village watchmen, whose special duty it was to be always in readiness, but of all those likewise over whom the zemindaree authority extended. To convey an idea of the means possessed by a principal Zemindar for police purposes, we will illustrate the case of the Zemindar of Burdwan, cited by the Parliamentary Committee of 1812: "This zemindaree," it is said, "may be taken on a rough estimate at 73 miles long, and 45 broad, comprehending about 3,280 square miles, nearly the whole of which was in the highest state of cultivation and well stocked with inhabitants. The police establishment, as described in a letter from the Magistrate, of the 12th October 1788, consisted of *Thannadars* acting as chiefs of police divisions and guardians of the peace; under whose orders were stationed in the different villages, for the protection of the inhabitants, and to convey information to the *Thannadars*, about 2,400 *pykes* or armed constables. But exclusive of these guards, who were for the express purpose of police, the principal dependance for the protection of the people probably rested on the *zemindaree pykes*; for these are stated by the Magistrate to have been in number no less than nineteen thousand, who were at all times liable to be called out in aid of the police." The village-guards, or constables proper, over the whole of Bengal amounted, according to Sir Henry Strachey's moderate calculation, to more than one hundred thousand men armed with spears and shields.

During the final years of the Mahommedan rule the police administration fell, with every other department of Government, into a state of disorder. The condition of the country was found by the British on their accession to power to be disorganised. It was believed that no moderate measures would be adequate to the occasion, and that the old state of things could not possibly be restored and applied to the public benefit. The principal reform of Lord Cornwallis was to reduce the Zemindars from their high position of tributary chiefs to that of landholders and subjects. It was assumed that the failure of the police system had resulted from an abuse of the authority entrusted to the Zemindars. But in point of fact it was rather the revenue system of the regulations that was incompatible with the old police administration of the country. That system was as an anomaly: it has since broken down on all sides; but it first failed with reference to the subject we are now treating. The Zemindars and their subordinates, under the cover of obligations, which they had been deprived the power of fulfilling uprightly, were soon found to be the perpetrators or abettors of half the crime in Bengal. The Government were left without a practical alternative. By the proclamation of December 7th, 1792, re-enacted by Regulation

XII. of 1793, it took the police of the country directly into its own hands and deprived the land-holders by law of all the authority which had attached to them as officers of the State.

The new scheme of police introduced by the Regulations divided the country into police jurisdictions, of which each division was guarded by a Darogah with an establishment of armed men, selected and appointed by the Magistrate of the District. The village watch were placed under the indirect control of the Darogah. This scheme then sanctioned is the basis of our present police administration. The only considerable change of any importance effected during this century has been the establishment of the police, within late years, as a separate department.

We shall presently venture upon a casual reference with effect to this change. But our principal enquiry in this paper will be of the most general nature into the actual constitution of the several police forces in Bengal.

The present constitution of our police is dual and irreconcilable. The duality of the system is, moreover, entirely of our own creation. There are a variety of remarkable characteristics in our criminal administration of the country; but it is, in our judgment, distinguished by no feature more noteworthy than this, that side by side with an enrolled and organized semi-military constabulary it supports a disorganized and heterogeneous rabble of irresponsible village watchmen. The village chowkeedars represent the theory of dispersion: the constabulary that of centralization. We shall point out that while these rival systems are irreconcilable in principle, so, in practice, the village watchmen who are alone capable of performing legitimate police work are from their very position little better than a band of thieves; and that, on the other hand, the members of the Bengal Constabulary have degenerated into mere functionaries of routine and service: and having done this we shall endeavour to show to the best of our ability that no re-arrangement of our police establishment can ever meet with reasonable success unless organized upon the basis of a complete, uniform and direct subordination to the national Government.

It will be unnecessary for our purpose to follow up the history of the village watch under our rule. It is the less necessary to do so as the subject has been very fully discussed in Mr. McNeile's elaborate report. Nor do we desire to revive the controversy—which has led to bitter contentions and even up to litigation to the highest tribunal in England—as to the relative rights of modern Zemindars and the Government to the nomination and services of the village police. It will suffice to state that the difficulties and complications which surround this subject are much enhanced by the fact of there being two great divisions of the insti-

tution now in existence; the one which is remunerated by an assignment of lands for its support; the other which is in receipt, or rather in nominal receipt, of a salary by money payments. It may be said broadly that the whole of the Eastern Districts of Bengal are occupied by a money-receiving village police which was constituted by Regulation XX. of 1817. The watchman in these districts is dependent for the payment of his services upon the good will of the community in which he lives. In Western Bengal and Behar the basis of the system is still the old payment in service land. But it is a curious circumstance that the innovation introduced by the Regulations has been voluntarily adopted to a large and increasing extent all over Bengal. Even in the Patna and Bhaugulpore Divisions, only a little less than one-seventh of the whole of the village watchmen are at the present time in possession of service tenures. The remaining six-sevenths are maintained by the land-holders and the people at large by the payment of stipends in cash, grain and other commodities. A consideration of these service or chakeran lands is, however, in our opinion entirely independent of any question of general police reform, and should be treated subsequently and separately, on its own merits; and we shall not, therefore, allow its introduction to interfere in any way with our present argument. We will note only that the interests involved in it are far less than is commonly supposed. It is abundantly clear that as under actual circumstances the very large majority of the chowkeedars in Bengal are maintained solely by the contributions of the village communities, so the Zemindars in these cases, at all events, can have no equitable claim to any portion of their services.

The regular constabulary of every district now consists of a limited number of men disciplined and enrolled under the orders of the District Superintendent of Police. This officer is indirectly subordinate to the Magistrate of the District. He is directly subordinate to the Inspector-General of Police. The Magistrate of the District, as chief executive authority, exercises a controlling jurisdiction over the constabulary. He issues his orders to the District Superintendent and the District Superintendent is bound to obey them. The powers of the District Magistrate are wielded also in a measure by the Divisional Commissioner: but at the same time no other Magistrate than the District Magistrate is invested with any police powers whatsoever. The establishment of the Bengal Police is, strictly speaking, a semi-military organization.

On the other hand the chowkeedaree system is disorganization itself. The rural chowkeedars as they at present exist over the greater part of Bengal, enjoy an almost indefinable responsibility to their Zemindars or village headmen in one

capacity, and to the District Superintendent of Police in another. But in effect they must and do depend upon the residents of the village from whom they derive the means of their wretched and precarious existence. The village policeman is a fellow villager of the villagers and a tenant of the Zemindar. He is appointed by the Zemindar and the village community, or by one of these two. He is also maintained by them either by lands, or by wages in money or kind; he is also their servant. The element of wages popularly constitutes the most distinctive feature of the relation between master and servant. The chowkeedar is simply the menial of the influential villagers; he is proud to call himself the creature of the talookdar. An absence of independence is the crying weakness of the Bengali from the wealthiest land-holder in the Zillah who memorializes Government to assist him in putting up his school, to the ryot who wearies the Magistrate to cleanse the fetid trench that stagnates before his door. And as a dog will lick the hand that feeds it, a Bengali chowkeedar will throw himself on the village community, and, sunk in the consciousness of his own feebleness, cringe before the face and grovel at the feet of his paymaster. Yet still, though we cannot hesitate to avow that the connection between the Bengal establishment of police and the village chowkeedars is so vague as to be essentially valueless, the mere consciousness of that connexion, such as it is, may possibly be considered under all the circumstances of the case a very natural source of hope and encouragement. The link, at all events, exists, though slender, and it might have been welded into a bond of unity. It has, we fear, been snapped. Our readers will have observed the enactment of the new chowkeedaree law passed by the Bengal Legislative Council in 1870. There are two effective principles of this Act. The one recognizes "the fact that the village chowkeedar is purely a village servant, employed for the protection of the lives and property of the villagers, and looking to the village community for the regular payment of the remuneration to which he is entitled." The one principle definitely sanctions a decentralized administration of police. To this we shall presently revert at length. The other simply transfers the village chowkeedars from the indeterminate control of the Superintendent of Police to the indeterminate control of the Magistrate. And upon this we shall now hazard a few remarks. The issue involved in this principle, although it has less importance than it was a few years ago considered to possess, is yet of more consequence than the reaction of to-day is inclined to accord to it. Abstractedly considered, and as a step leading to another and consistent measure of legislation, we believe, and shall venture to maintain, that the principle of the transfer was correct. But

there is not a shadow of reason to presume that the Act is intended to be transitional; on the contrary, the recent Municipalities Bill is distinctly designed to perpetuate its operation. And it requires, we think, but scanty reflection to persuade ourselves that the tendency of a law which seems to shatter all chance of police unification must be radically unsound. The very conception of our police rests on an unintelligible compromise—an exhaustive enactment might have swept all differences into a consistent agreement: the new law codifies the confusion.

Granting, as this law seems to grant, though only partially, that the administration of police is a primary function of Government, the issue as against our legislators resolves itself into an alternative dilemma. Either the departmental officers, meaning by this expression the official organism from the Inspector-General to the District Superintendent, are competent to the management of the rural police in addition to their own duties, or they are not. If they are competent, it ought to be made over to them; if they are not competent, the regular constabulary should be also taken from their hands. Or to reverse the picture, the local Magistrates are or are not competent to manage the district police. If they are not competent, the village police ought not to be entrusted to them; if they are competent, they should be reinstated in their ancient powers without delay.

In point of fact we think the *consensus* of trustworthy authority would decide the issue of this dilemma against the departmental officers. It might be invidious to appeal to experience. But it is a truism to affirm that our Mofussil administration will be generally efficient and also acceptable to the people just in proportion to the degree in which it conforms to what is simple or oriental, in preference to a complex or European model. And it is already widely recognized that the separation of the judicial from the executive power—a doctrine which was at one time the very shibboleth of promotion in official quarters—has not attained that practical success it was expected to deserve. The European idea of provincial government is a minute division of functions and officers. The oriental idea is to unite all power into one centre. The European may possibly be able to comprehend and appreciate the maxim that the thief-taker should not judge the thief. The Asiatic is only confused and aggrieved to hear that his complaint which had been decided as true by one *Sahib*, has been dismissed on precisely the same evidence by another. And the Bengali, however deficient in other ways, is at least not inferior to the Englishman in the logic of common sense which determines that the authority who first enquires into the case, while the facts are green, is more likely to come to a just decision upon the merits than the court of second instance,

or perhaps the third or fourth ! It were, we think, as well to humour the natives of India in this respect, not less for their sakes, than for our own. In the words of Lord Canning " we fully believe that what has been called the patriarchal form of Government is, in the present condition of the people of Bengal, most congenial to them and best understood by them ; and as regards the governing power, the concentration of all responsibility upon one officer cannot fail to keep his attention alive and stimulate his energy in every department to the utmost, whilst it will preclude the growth of those obstructions to good administration which are apt to spring up where two co-ordinate officers divide the authority."

We return from this digression to resume our comparative analysis of the rural police and the police constabulary. The number of the police constabulary in Bengal may be roughly set down at 20,000 : the number of village watchmen at 200,000. The budget grant for the former is forty-one lakhs and seventy-seven thousand rupees : the cost of the village watchmen, on an average of three rupees monthly per head, may be estimated at seventy-two lakhs. The actual business of the former is to guard prisoners and treasure, to serve processes, to protect the frontier and keep the peace, to wait upon the Magistrates in Court, to accompany their immediate superiors in local investigations, and finally to perform any miscellaneous work imposed upon them at the Thannah. They may be directed "to take a census, mend a road, or do anything else for which a trustworthy officer may be usefully employed." On the other hand, the village watchmen, constituting as it were an indefinable and irresponsible body, disunited among themselves, and connected by no effectual link with the police organism proper, are, in virtue of their recognized functions and numerical force, the only real body of police in Bengal. It is to the chowkeedars that our Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors are obliged to look for every kind of assistance. "It is from the chowkeedars," in the words of Lord Hastings, lately quoted by Mr. Money in his place in the Bengal Council, "it is from the chowkeedars that all information of the character of individuals, of the haunts and intentions of robbers, and of everything necessary to forward the objects of police must ordinarily be obtained ; they are the watch and patrol to which the community looks for its immediate protection, and on the occurrence of a crime the Darogha's only mode of proceeding is to collect the watchmen of all neighbouring villages and to question them as to all the circumstances, with a view to get from them that information which they only can afford. The village chowkeedars are the foundation of all possible police in this country, and upon their renovation, improvement, and stability depends the ultimate

"success of all our measures for the benefit of the country in the prevention, detection, and punishment of crime." We are in short, dependent for our police protection upon the village system. That system has been denounced by Sir John Peter Grant as "unpopular, arbitrary, and vexatious, and at the same time undisciplined, incapable and ill-directed." The Secretary to the Bengal Government has recently declared it to be "as bad as it can be." No respectable ryot has ever been induced to accept an appointment within the ranks of the village watch. We have known even indigent day labourers, when appointed, come crying with tears to their Zemindar praying for relief, on the avowed and only ground that the appointment would lower their reputation in the esteem of the neighbourhood and destroy their social position. In proportion to their numbers it is stated that more chowkeedars have been found guilty of heinous crimes than persons not chowkeedars have been of all offences of every kind.* It is not an exaggeration to affirm that the chowkeedars are by profession and hereditarily the robbers of India.† It is equally, however, without exaggeration that we repeat that they are the only real constabulary of Bengal. Their condition may be "unsatisfactory in the extreme." They have no doubt "lamentably failed in accomplishing the ends for which they were established." But it is through their means alone that we can ever hope to arrive at improvement in our police administration.

* This statement is extracted from a Minute of the late Hon'ble Drinkwater Bethune, a Member of the Governor-General's Council (quoted by Mr. Thompson in his speech in the Bengal Council on the 22nd January 1870). Colonel Pughe gives in his report the following returns of one district for the past year as a specimen of the conduct of the chowkeedars as at present organized. "37 chowkeedars were tried and judicially convicted :

- 15 for theft.
- 2 for wrongful restraint.
- 6 for wrongful confinement to extort confession.
- 4 for bad livelihood.
- 3 for lurking house trespass.
- 4 for robbery.
- 2 for bribery.
- 1 for causing hurt by dangerous weapons."

† This curious arrangement appears also to be universal throughout Southern India. "In the Carnatic the Taliars are taken from the Maravers

"and Kullers ; in Mysore from the Bedars ; in the Dekhan from the Ramoosies ; in Guzerat from the Kulis ; in Central India from the Bheels, &c. &c.—all of them professed and hereditary robber tribes." (Minute in 1856 by the Hon'ble Walter Elliot, a Member of the Madras Council.) In Bengal the fact has so far been recognized that village watchmen were once usually designated by the names of the low and thieving castes to which they have always belonged. Dosadh, Dome, Hari, Jolaha, Choto Begi, Chandai, Pashi, Mehtur, Bagadi, &c., are all names of castes.

Mr. McNeile, speaking of ancient times, states in explanation of the anomaly that "as a rule the chowkidar belonged himself to some thieving gang, and his engagement as watchman was in fact an arrangement by which the villagers secured a partial immunity from attack by bringing over one of the enemy."

The report on the Police of the Lower Provinces for 1871, which we have placed at the head of this paper, is, like all previous reports submitted from the Police Office, confined to a review of the strictly enrolled constabulary. With the exception of a desultory paragraph or two the proceedings of the village police are entirely left out of sight. It is the old story, that ever since their semi-military organization, the legitimate work of the police has been subordinated to an elaboration of local pipe-clay, and the preparation of untrustworthy returns. It is because the departmental police authorities have never recognized or rather have wilfully blinded themselves to the fact, that their constabulary is not a proper police body, but that all police work in the Mofussil is, and must be done by the village watchmen, that their reports upon police administration are so absolutely useless. If this language seems hard, we can only affirm that it is justifiable. The real police work of the country is done, so far as it is done at all, by the village chowkeedars and a few hundred officers in the upper ranks of the regular police. Our mofussil constabulary is composed of men who not only entertain no idea of acquiring and bringing information bearing upon crime, but never even conceive that it is their duty to do so. There is not a constable in Bengal who holds that his primary duties are to detect and prevent crime. In point of fact he is never employed upon legitimate police work. "If it does fall to the lot of a policeman to interfere in any way with offenders against the laws of his country, it is seldom in the case of crimes more serious than the defilement of an open drain or some other public nuisance." We wish to pay every respect to the European and other officers in the upper ranks of the regular police—and in fact, the results of their work out of the wretched material at their disposal do them infinite credit—but we cannot scruple to point out that the delusion, that their subordinates are in any way instrumental in discharging the first functions of a police, is not shared by their subordinates, and is, indeed, experienced by themselves alone. The truth is, that quite apart from their numerical insufficiency—it is impossible that the members of the incongruous semi-military force, whom we have been pleased to designate police constables, could perform such duties, in addition to their other work.

About one quarter of the police force were utilized during the year under review as guards and orderlies. One thousand men were on frontier duty in Cachar and Sylhet in connection with the Lushai Expedition. About five thousand men were employed as guards over jails and lock-ups, treasury and opium, and in the Salt Preventive Police. 52 jails, 98 lock-ups, 46 district treasuries, and 87 sub-divisional treasuries were guarded by the constabulary.

The average daily number of escorts furnished throughout the year amounted to 93 head constables and 587 constables. The remaining three quarters of the force executed no less than 59,379 warrants, and served 3,74,389 summons and 1,50,894 other written orders. They served during the year a grand total of 5,84,662 processes. They were also largely employed in the acquisition of departmental and general statistics. In many districts of Bengal, the police afforded most material assistance in carrying out the census. "Officers in charge of police stations visited every village in their jurisdictions, and ascertained what persons could read and write. Lists were then submitted to the Magistrate, showing the names of such persons as were qualified to act as enumerators. The forms were then distributed by the police to every village, and officers went about and explained carefully how they were to be filled up. In those places where there was no one who could read and write, the police themselves did the work of enumerators." We note also that the Inspector-General accords the highest praise to the energy displayed by the police in the districts which were flooded during August and September. But in this we are unable to concur. While the superior officers of the department "patrolled the country in boats, affording relief to the poorer villages, keeping open the communications, and carrying the dâks where the postal authorities had broken down," the laziness of the Bengal policemen during the crisis of the inundation was incorrigible.

From the above analysis it will be tolerably evident what are the actual functions of the constabulary. An insignificant body of thirteen or fourteen thousand men—scattered over so vast an area, and dispersed through so enormous a population as that of these provinces—the Bengal Police are simply process-servers, under a liability to be employed whenever the Magistrate of the district thinks fit, upon miscellaneous executive work. They are not and cannot be a preventive and detective organization. The village watchmen are our only real police. And it is, as we have seen, to the improvement and modification of the chowkidari system, not to the development of the constabulary, that those must look who are interested in police reform.* There is vast

* "We cannot refrain from quoting here the observations upon this subject of Mr. Lewis, contained in his letter of the 2nd May 1837. 'By far the greatest impediment to the success of police operations in this country arises from the total want of co-operation on the part of the people; execution on the one hand, and fear,

"ignorance, and prejudice on the other, have drawn a very marked line between the police officer and the public; and whatever the crime may be, or however notorious and dangerous the offender, the village community rarely shows any disposition to assist either in tracing the one or apprehending the other; their sole object being to get rid

scope for re-organization in this direction, and the more so as recent legislation has failed so conspicuously to grapple with the difficulty. It is no secret that the Chowkidari Act of 1870 has proved a practical failure. It deserved to fail, because it perpetrated the confusion of a dual administration. The heads of the police in Bengal are chuckling together over the failure. It will, however, avail them nothing until they can recognize that the establishment of these anomalous and irresponsible watchmen upon a systematic basis, is the one thing absolutely indispensable to throw new life into their own decaying organism. Many Magistrates, and not a few District Superintendents, are fully alive to the truth of this view of the situation, and we must trust to the strength of their representations to affect the general sense of the department. But the annual recurrence of such misleading reports as that we have now before us, affords little encouragement to hope for their speedy success.†

"as speedily as possible of their unwelcome visitors by any story most likely to effect their purpose.

"But in the character and disposition of the village chowkidar there is something common to both parties; when properly treated he can give, and he frequently does give, most valuable information; and it has therefore always appeared to me a most desirable object to make this connecting link between the police and people as sound and serviceable as possible. We doubt much if any description of village police can be efficient; we are quite sure that none can be popular, which is not based on the principle advocated by Mr. Lewis in the above extract." (Paras. 54 and 55 of the Report of the Police Committee of 1838, quoted by Mr. Money in his speech on the 21st May 1870.)

† Not the least unhealthy feature, we think, in the police reports is the Inspector General's expression of confidence in the improved character of the constabulary. He is as surprisingly jubilant over the admirable quality of his material, as he is despondent over its numerical insufficiency. "As to the general conduct of the force," he says, "I have no hesitation in pronouncing it satisfactory. No unprejudiced person

"will deny that the roads and rivers are much safer than they were ten years ago, and that, generally, life and property are for more secure. To any one who moves through the Mofussil and visits its villages and towns, that most infallible sign of security is everywhere discernable which consists in the absence of arms; in the few districts where such are in existence, they are generally kept out of sight." The last of these remarks calls for no comment. Colonel Pughe cannot seriously think that Bengal ever contained a more warlike population than the present, or that the existence of weapons of defence and offence is rarer now than formerly. It is true, however, that the country enjoys much greater security; though we suspect that this is not so much the result of an improvement in the police as of the general progress of our administration. The supervision of Government, though still imperfect, is more localised and complete than it was ten years ago, and our knowledge of the people is prodigiously augmented. Justice has been, comparatively speaking, brought home to every man's door. The establishment of sub-divisions, and the creation of special opportunities for a system of check and superintendence, have more to do with the increase

The reorganization of the village watch is the grand problem which it now remains for us to solve. We shall enter immediately upon its discussion. But we feel we should be guilty of an inexcusable omission if, before doing so, we did not advert in some measure to a consideration of the police responsibilities (or irresponsibilities) of the modern landholders. The point is one of the nicest possible importance. "The irresponsibility of the Zemindars," says Colonel Pughe,—affording in this a fair illustration of the loose and sweeping assertions which continually occur in the police report,—“may be designated as the root and basis of all police inefficiency!” The unfairness of this subterfuge is apparent, but we need not therefore hesitate to follow the Inspector-General when he continues in soberer language that “no one has so many means of hearing of the commission of a crime as a landholder, nor possesses more influence than he does as regards the presecution of crime and tracking of criminals.” This is a difficulty which is with reason a matter of universal complaint among Mofussil authorities. It is a crying fact that during our government of the country, we never have obtained the co-operation of the landholders, whether cordial or otherwise. On this subject, the remarks of Mr. McNeile are admirable and exhaustive. “The great radical evil,” he writes “which has hitherto so greatly weakened the arm of the executive in dealing with crime, is one much wider in its character than the under payment of village watchmen. It is the utter inability of the public authorities to secure the co-operation of the people in the administration of the law. This want of co-operation may no doubt be partly ascribed, as it has been often ascribed, to the fear existing among the people of the exactions of the regular police, and to their aversion from all the other annoyances of a criminal investigation and trial. But it is in great part owing to the operation of a power which is established throughout the land with a far firmer root in the minds and habits of the people than the whole authority of Government. This is the power of the landholders and their local agents, whose reign, silently acquiesced in, extends to every home in every village in the country, and whose influence is used in support of or in antagonism to the law, just as may appear to be most advantageous to their interests. There are two ways in dealing with this *imperium in imperio*; one is to subvert it, the other

in public security than any alleged modification in the *morale* of the force. “The general character of the police” is an issue upon which every one of our readers is as competent, from his own knowledge, to come to

a verdict, favourable or unfavourable, as the Inspector-General himself. The question had better be left to be answered by a public than an official tribunal.

"is to recognize, confirm, and work through it. Hitherto we
 "have been paradoxically working in both directions." We have
 already seen that at the time of the settlement the Zemindars
 were reduced to the position of mere landholders and subjects.
 Their power nevertheless continued a great fact, "and the State
 "did not hesitate to admit its existence by imposing on the land-
 "holders liabilities which were altogether incompatible with the
 "condition in which they had been legally placed. * * * *
 "But the Government of the day was not in a position to be logi-
 "cal. Its hold upon the country was far too uncertain and ill-
 "defined. It dared not openly entrust the landholders with police
 "authority, for fear of the gross abuse of that authority which
 "was certain to follow. And it could not manage the country
 "without them, because their power was already great enough
 "to set public authority more or less at defiance if they
 "chose." The responsibilities imposed on the landholders
 by our law still attach to them in their integrity. The
 power of discharging these responsibilities has however been
 very seriously impaired, and in fact necessarily diminishes, though
 almost imperceptibly, through the growth of public opinion in the
 Mofussil year by year. It is still very great. It is, indeed, all
 too powerful. For it is undeniable that such influence as remains,
 is more usually exercised in opposing and thwarting the police
 than in assisting their endeavours. Our Magistrates, moreover,
 have not the practical means of insisting upon a due discharge from
 landholders of their responsibilities. It may have been suggested to
 restore to the Zemindars their old authority as police officers under
 Government. But such a measure is *now* obviously out of the
 question * Only one course is before us, and that is to sweep

* Whether such a step would ever
 have been a desirable one cannot
 now be determined. It was, at all
 events urged upon the Government
 some seventy-one years ago by Sir
 Henry Strachey, Judge and Magis-
 trate of Midnapore, than whom no
 more shrewd and sincere observer
 has been enrolled in the ranks of the
 Civil Service. He writes as fol-
 lows :—

"It is my opinion that the pro-
 "curing the assistance of the men
 "of property and influence in pre-
 "serving the peace throughout the
 "country, would lead to a system of
 "police the most efficient, the most
 "economical, the most suitable to
 "the habits of the people, and in
 "all respects the best calculated for

"their comfort and security."

* * * * *

"The Zemindars, it will be re-
 "collected, possessed under the
 "native Governments a degree of
 "power nearly proportionate to
 "their property. Although that
 "power was, perhaps, not formally
 "recognized, nor regularly executed ;
 "still they did possess a considerable
 "degree of military, civil and fiscal
 "power. They kept their depen-
 "dants in a state of union and were,
 "by that means, enabled to protect
 "them, and maintain themselves.
 "At present, such as have survived
 "the almost universal destruction of
 "Zemindars, are in conformity to our
 "notions, reduced to the same con-
 "dition, and placed at an equal

away the whole body of this anomalous legislation which imposes burdens which it is undesirable that any subject should have strength to bear.

The re-organization of the village police is a matter not entirely independent of this question of Zemindar's responsibility. But it involves an enquiry of far wider scope. The field of its discussion embraces the whole issue of Government non-interference.

We have said that the village chowkeedars represent, in police matters, the theory of dispersion. The constabulary represent centralization. Now it would not surely have been singular to assume that either the one theory or the other might fairly have commended itself to our legislature as desirable in itself, or appropriate to the particular state of affairs in this country. It might have been thought that, in such a case, our judgment would not have faltered. But in point of fact we have avoided the alternative, and an attempt has been made to meet the rival requirements of the two antagonistic theories by an almost unconscious compromise. It was not foreseen that the two theories so incompatible in principle, could never exist beneficially together in practice. Long and painful experience has alone been able to show that the inherent evils of a dual system of police are irremediable.

The decentralization of police—or the establishment of the village police upon the basis of dispersion—is now, however, the avowed principle which our rulers have taken upon themselves to accept. The control and supervision of the village police is delegated, under the Chowkidari Act, to a committee or *punchayet* selected from the inhabitants of the village. It is the same under the police sections of the Bill for village municipalities in Bengal. "Only municipalize more," we are told, "and trust the people. They are more interested in the safety of themselves and property than we are, and can provide for it far better, as regards village interests, than we can." From these assertions we unreservedly dissent. We view the legal

"distance from us with their lowest
"ryots. Any measure that has a
"tendency towards the restoration
"of this power (though I confess I
"have no distinct conception of the
"mode in which it can be accom-
"plished) must, I think, advance a
"step towards the creation of a body
"of gentry, who, though they should
"never be actuated by the same
"motives as ourselves, nor possess
"any feeling in common with us,
"may yet perform great services to
"the public. Such a measure

"would, in my opinion, bring the
"lower orders more distinctly under
"the eye of the Magistrate. It
"might enable us, in some degree,
"to excite awe, to impose restraint,
"to awaken national ardour and love
"for the Government. Our moral
"impotence to produce any effect of
"this nature on the minds of the
"people, which is at present suffi-
"ciently apparent, might be, I think,
"if not removed, at least gradually
"diminished."

establishment of the principle of dispersion with the greatest possible apprehension. We are assured, from our experience, that it will prove wholly disastrous.

In practice, as is well known, the operations under the new law have failed. At present *punchayets* exist—or rather, existed at the end of 1871, the latest date up to which information is procurable—under the chowkidari law, only in the following districts on the scale we shall describe: in Patna in 26 villages, in Beerbhoom in 19, and in Bhaugulpore but in 10. In Chittagong they exist in 8 villages, in Dacca in 43. In Jessore, where the law is in force, the system of *punchayets* has been found “cumbersome in its procedure and not likely to work well,” and therefore has not been extended to a single village. It is in Rajshahye alone that any real advance has been made. In that district the law has been extended to no less than 3,176 villages. It is to these *punchayets*, such as they are, unscrupulous, irresponsible, and dishonest—it is worthy of note that during the first year of its existence a member of a Beerbhoom *punchayet* was convicted of speculation—that our legislature would have the village police all over Bengal entrusted. It would desire to perpetuate the anarchy of the present village system. It would stereotype the language of the Minute written by Sir Frederick Halliday in 1838 in its applicability to the police of Bengal. “Theoretically these “chowkidars are appointed, paid, removed, and controlled by the “village communities. Practically they are sometimes controlled “by the Thannah officers, oftener by the villagers, frequently by “neither. Here we have a force of about a hundred and seventy “thousand men, taken—by a custom which so long as the name “of village chowkidar exists will be immutable,—from the lowest “and vilest and most despised classes; drawing annually from “the people in legitimate wages upwards of sixty lakhs of “rupees; under no supervision but that of irresponsible and “ignorant communities; thieves by caste and habit and connec- “tions; totally disconnected from the Government police-estab- “lishment; unorganised, depraved, worse than useless.”

The truth is that a mere village, such as is contemplated under the third class municipalities of the Municipal Bill, has no claim to a municipal representation. The inhabitants of these municipalities will not be distinguished by occupation or social relations from those of the rural districts adjoining; and for their wants, the arrangements made for the surrounding territory should amply suffice. It is notorious that in executive matters boards seldom work satisfactorily: the low calibre of the men by whom they are almost always carried on is alone fatal to success. This is the most conspicuous imperfection of popular local institutions, and the chief cause of the failure which so often attends them.

So small a place as a third class municipality will never have a sufficient public to furnish a tolerable Municipal Council. Nor will the officers of such a representative body be amenable to opinion. Either they will split off into rival factions, or, as is at least as likely, all power will become concentrated in one man, who will thereby become the dominator of the place. The village Zemindar will lay his net for the unwary: the local Mahajan will rivet his chains: the municipal police will become their slaves. It is better that such places be merged in a larger circumscription. A small area may be convenient for the administration of sanitary rules: for the proper regulation of highways, a larger extent, like that of an average Zillah for instance, is not more than sufficient; but for the successful management of the police, we cannot look lower than to the State itself. To place their control, as our legislators have done, in the hands of a *punchayet* of a mofussil village, seems to us simply suicidal. For the discharge of such duties, which are national rather than local, the highest possible qualifications should have been secured. As the local authorities and village public are inferior to the central ones in intelligence and knowledge, so the advantage is wholly on the side of a police administration by the central Government.

The management of the police is, indeed, a national duty. It is a question not merely of local but of imperial importance. The whole nation is alike interested in the efficiency of its constabulary. It cannot be a matter indifferent to the rest of the country if any part of it becomes a nest of robbers or focus of demoralization. And it is obvious that in the absence of an uniformity of system, even the better watching of any particular village may fail to give satisfaction. Exceptional strictness only forces the thieves to lurk on the outskirts of the village or beyond its limits, and prey upon the villages which are more negligent. The points which constitute good management of police are the same everywhere: there is no reason why it should be differently managed in one part of these provinces and in another. But there is, on the other hand, great peril that, in a sphere so important, and to which the most instructed minds available to the State are not more than adequate, the lower average of capacities which alone can be counted on for the service of the municipalities, may commit errors of such magnitude as to be a serious blot upon the general administration of the country. The management of police is both so universal a concern, and so much a matter of general science, independent of local peculiarities, that it may be and ought to be uniformly regulated throughout the country, and its regulation enforced by more trained and skilful hands than those of purely local authorities. It can never be

successfully decentralized or entrusted to other responsibility than that of Government and the national executive.

In short, if there is any one sphere of action, in which Government interference is absolutely necessary and legitimate, it is in this matter of police. "Security of person and property, and equal justice between individuals, are the first needs of society and the primary ends of Government: if these things" writes Mr. Mill, "can be left to any responsibility below the highest, there is nothing except war and treaties, which requires a general government of all. Whatever are the best arrangements for security, these primary objects should be made universally obligatory, and to secure their enforcement, should be placed under central superintendence." This truth is of general application, but it applies especially to Bengal. The office of a police constable, if it lacks dignity, should at all events command independence, honesty, and a genuine sense of public duty. What at present we most urgently require is a stamp of respectability, even though artificial, enduing the village watchman with a social status, social responsibilities, and a natural pride in the efficient discharge of his work. Under existing circumstances we can only hope to obtain this reform by direct State patronage and Government interposition. We would not content ourselves with the suggestion of any incomplete or half measures. It is not, as has been said, that we are reduced to the solitary choice of subordinating the rural chowkidars to the regular constabulary, or of leaving to the village communities the control and supervision of their own rural police. There is, we conceive, another alternative perfectly feasible and obvious. Without municipalizing, and, indeed, wholly denying the claim of a mere village to any share in the principle of municipal representation, we would merge the regular constabulary into a rural police. We would sweep away the entire rank and file of the existing constabulary as a mere incubus, whose regular and routine duties might with unimpaired efficiency be performed by a process establishment and a small reserve from the rural force. We would furnish the necessary supply of guards and escorts from a separate organization. We would adhere to the only really sound element of the chowkidari system, *viz.*, that of retaining the local knowledge of men resident in the village in which they are to be employed. Free on the one hand, we trust, from the illegitimate influence of the Zemindar, free on the other from any improper connexion with the village community, capable withal of supplying every local information, the Bengal policemen of our ideal would, indeed, be a rural organism, and, as unlike, we venture to hope, to the Bengal policemen of our experience, as it would be possible to imagine; but they would be Government servants—not village

or zemindari servants—performing their duties under Government surveillance, appointed, enrolled, and organized by Government. Even so, we are free to confess, our hopes may be in vain. We are not sanguine in any case of achieving immediate success out of the wretched material that this country has, from time immemorial, afforded for recruiting its village watchmen. The means of reformation are not easy. It is imperative to comply with our requirements without reverting to additional schemes of taxation. It is essential to carry the popular feeling along with us in the reform. The subject demands from our rulers the highest and most assiduous investigation. Our hopes of a renovated police may fail. But whether they shall fail or not, of one thing at least we are assured, that we shall never secure the better administration of our village watch, or improve its organization through the instrumentality of a *punchayet* or a third class municipality. Here success is not doubtful, but impossible: the catastrophe will be complete. It is not difficult to find fault with the fruits of our recent legislation. The Chowkeedaree Law is bad. The Road Cess Act is oppressive and unworkable. The Establishments' Bill has not met with favour. The Municipalities' Bill has not yet received the sanction of the Viceroy. But of all the failures that have lately been enacted in the Bengal Council Chamber, we venture to declare that this deliberate attempt to perpetuate the evil of a decentralized police is not the least injurious.

H. J. S. C.

ART. V.—THE TRUE TEST OF A REVELATION—
WHAT IS IT?

THE remarks upon the "heathen," made by the Archbishop of Canterbury a few months ago, produced a very brisk discussion on the comparative merits of the various religions which at present possess the world. It is rather the fashion at the present time to speak lightly of religious differences, as matters of small consequence—to stigmatise all earnest convictions regarding the invisible world as "bigotry" or "sectarianism"—and to invoke a spurious form of toleration, whereby Hindoos, Muhammadans and Christians are to meet and embrace on some abstract ground of a common humanity. This kind of talk is only one form of that pernicious bunkum which has so deeply corrupted the manliness and veracity of the age. Differences of religion will never be brought into agreement by the use of fine phrases. A man's religious faith goes down to the very roots of his existence, and gives its form and colour to every thought and action of his life. It takes him out of the category of an abstract humanity, and converts him into an *individual*, deriving mental food and vigour from that which is peculiarly his own—from that which is an essential part of his single and distinct idiosyncrasy—not that which he possesses in common with all the rest of the world. A union of humanity which was effected by ignoring and leaving out of sight all those profound personal convictions which distinguished one man from another, would be profitable for nothing, even supposing it to be possible. It could only result in a superficial contact of mind with mind, such as takes place at a dinner table or in a ball room. It is in truth precisely that form of intercourse dignified by a high-sounding appellation. Our difference will only then be reconciled when we have dug down below them to the common soil from which they have all sprung; and this we can never do, without producing these differences into the full light of day, examining their nature, and tracing them backward to their roots. There is, however, abundant reason, at least on the surface, why people should shrink from these delicate investigations. Though prefaced with loud protestations that the inquirer is urged by no motive other than a single-minded desire to arrive at the truth, the investigation itself, in nine cases out of ten, lapses into angry assertions of the inquirer's own religion being so manifestly superior to every one else's, that only blind and unreasoning prejudice could maintain the contrary. This was very much the case in the discussion provoked by the remarks of the Archbishop. The usual mode of argument was something like this. An advo-

cate for Christianity produced some eminent Christian saint, and summoned "the heathen" to behold him as a sample of the article *his* religion could turn out. Immediately the Hindoo and Muhammadan produced their saints, which they declared to be as good if not better than the Christian's selected specimen. Or perhaps the Christian produced a text—"love your enemies" or some other—and demanded of Hindoo and Muhammadan if they could equal that. Or he denounced the low morality of Asia, and was instantly met with the retort that the Haymarket at 10 o'clock at night was the sort of moral state engendered by the prevalence of Christianity, and that "the heathen" were not prepared to accept that as an improvement upon their present condition. It is plain that an argument of this kind might be carried on indefinitely without coming to a conclusion, or approaching to the heart of the matter. And that, as was the case in the discussion which has given occasion to this paper, the only result would be to confirm that indifferentism which says, that all religions are much of a muchness—that they all produce good men—that they all include good moral precepts—that morality all over the world is very much on one level—and that therefore it must be of very little consequence whether a man is Christian, Hindoo, Muhammadan or Jew. This, indeed, is a feeling which prevails very widely at the present time, though all history gives the lie to it. And it is surely an obvious truism to say, that a man who believes that the world is governed by a Power, whose declared will and purpose it is to eradicate all mental and physical evil from his universe, must go forth to combat that evil with a courage and confidence which cannot be felt by those who are not animated by such a faith. It would be considered absurd to decide upon the character of a man, not by the whole tenor of his life, but by isolated sentiments he may, at moments, have given utterance to. Not less absurd is it to compare Christianity with other religions, by balancing a few good men in the one faith against a few good men in another, or the ethics of the one religion with those of the others. It is the whole history of a faith which alone can furnish an adequate test of its value to humanity, and *a fortiori* of its divine origin. What has it done in the past? What power of progressive life is there still manifest in it?

Take Islamism. What has it done for mankind in the past? Absolutely nothing. The Arabs, among whom it rose, are as wild, savage, ignorant and blood-thirsty as at the moment of its first promulgation,—nay more, the Bedouin of to-day is in many respects greatly inferior to his ancestor in the days before Islam. The poetry of the pre-Islamite period reveals to us among these rude and untutored people a profound recognition of the purity and dignity of woman, and a passionate sense of the beauty of love,

which the sensualism of Muhammadanism has completely eradicated. Wherever else the faith of the Prophet has penetrated, it has descended like a blight upon the land. In Asia, in northern Africa, in Europe, whatever country professes this creed, has less of moral strength, less of intellectual culture—has receded, in fact, at all points from the position it held when the banners of Islam were first unfolded within it. The history of every such country is a monotonous recital of one frightful military despotism established on the ruins of another, and trampling out in its ensanguined career every spark of civil and national life. Intellectual progress, throughout the territories of Islam, there has been none. We make bold to say that there are not a dozen Muhammadan works in philosophy, science or religion which, otherwise than as a historical curiosity, it would be worth while to translate into any Western language. So much for the Past. Is the prospect any brighter in the future? Assuredly not. The regions of Islam are at present but a gigantic corpse rapidly falling into utter corruption.

The condition of Hindooism is not essentially different. Starting, as it did, with a deeper and wider apprehension of the needs of human nature, the Hindoo faith has effected far more for its votaries than was possible to the creed of Muhammad. But the whole tenor of its history has been much the same. It has steadily degenerated as it receded from its fountain head, until the great primary beliefs, from which it derived its power and inspiration, have practically been lost and destroyed. It has shown its want of recuperative power by the fate which has attended every endeavour to purify it. Buddhism and Brahmoism have been cast out of its bosom as vile and unclean; the followers of Chaitanya and Nanuk have sunk below the level of the faith they were intended to elevate. And now it too, like Islam, lies prostrate, a gigantic corpse which every one knows can never stand upon its feet again, though it must, for many a long year, encumber the earth. The soul of it that used to seek communion with the unseen world in pathless forests and solitary mountain tops, and uttered forth in philosophy and song the secrets that there it learned, departed centuries ago. Whatever is reserved for India in the years to come, this at least is certain, that she can only begin to progress when she has cut herself completely adrift from the huge husk of a dead faith, which at present imprisons her.

But even if the past history and present condition of Muhammadanism and Hindooism were not a sufficient proof that they at least are not fed from any perennial spring of divine life, there is another evidence which ought to convince the most sceptical. A scheme of life which derives its origin direct from God must at least be the most powerful, the most advanced, and the most progressive to be found in the world. If we find beyond its

limits a wholly different scheme of life, which accomplishes all or nearly all wherein it has failed—which is rich in art, science, in poetry and in thought—which nourishes within its influence a deeper and more complex, a richer and more vigorous life;—if we find that when these two schemes of life are brought in contact, the Hindoo or Muhammadan interpretation of the dealings of God with men, “trembles like a guilty thing surprised,”—confesses itself, so to speak, to be a miserable impostor,—gives up the ghost in fact, and is only galvanised into a semblance of life by the assiduous exertions of its natural opponents,—we are driven to the conclusion either that there is a stronger power than God to be found in the universe, or that the Muhammadan or Hindoo notions of God cannot be the true ones. This is precisely the condition of the world at present, and has been for nearly two thousand years. So far as the Eastern world is concerned, the last spark of national and progressive life perished with the latest of the Jewish Prophets. Since that time Asia has been held in fetters by an unbroken series of despots and has steadily retrograded. But all this time there has been in the West, a movement in the opposite direction—a movement, all the more interesting to follow because at every stage of its career we can see the “strong things of this world” striving to arrest it—endeavouring in every way that ingenuity could devise to cast the free spirit of the West into the same iron mould which has closed around the East. Wars and persecutions, despots and persecutors—of these and of other enemies of mankind, there has been no lack in Europe. But the striking difference between East and West is, that in the one hemisphere the persecutors and despots have triumphed. They have crushed out all intellectual life, and the very desire for freedom, and made the people crouch and kiss the hand that smote them. Whereas in the West, there has been a spirit of truth and freedom which has shown itself stronger than that of religious persecution and military despotism; which has fought on century after century seemingly against hopeless odds, but ever winning new victories. The complete triumph, it is true, still lies away from us, in an indefinitely remote future, but if men are ever destined to attain that goal, it will not be by falling back on the precepts of Hindooism or Muhammad, but by bringing Western life more completely into harmony with its own fundamental convictions. If, then, we are to seek for a revelation of God anywhere, it must be in the West. To carry out such an inquiry with the thoroughness and detail adequate to its importance would require a volume. In the present paper we propose to do no more than to sketch out the method of investigation that ought to be adopted.

In attempting even this little, we shall have to assume as true, certain propositions which are vehemently denied by many eminent living men. There are certain thinkers—among whom Mr. Herbert Spencer and Professor Huxley are the best known—who admit the existence of God, but deny that he can by any possibility make himself known to men. They call him “the unknown and unknowable God,”—without apparently perceiving the contradiction involved in this phraseology. For if God be *unknown*, man cannot be in a position to say he is *unknowable*. If, on the other hand, we admit that he is *unknowable*, we debar ourselves by that very admission from speaking of Him as *unknown*. “It is,” says Mr. Martineau, “matter indeed of natural wonder that men who, standing before the First Cause professedly feel themselves in face of the impenetrable abyss of *all* possibilities, should take on themselves to expel that *one* possibility, that the Supreme reality should be capable of self-revelation. Among the indeterminate cases comprised in their inscrutable abyss, they cannot help including this—that the Mysterious Being *may* be Conscious Mind. Let them deny this, and their profession of impartial darkness becomes an empty affectation; they so far exchange their attitude of suspense for one of dogmatism. Let them admit it; and how, with the possibility of God, can they combine an impossibility of revelation? Who is this uncreated that can come forth into the field of existence and fill it all, yet by no crevice can find entrance into the field of thought?—that can fling the universal order and beauty into light and space, yet not tell his idea to a single soul?—That can bid the universe into being, yet not say “Lo, it is I.” But we have not mentioned the opinion in order to argue against it. To do so would carry us too far from our proper subject. We shall simply set it aside, assuming for our present purpose as a historical fact, that there has been among all nations an intense craving after a knowledge of God; and assuming also, that there is a God who can, if he so pleases, manifest himself to the reason and conscience of his creatures. Is there in history any evidence that he has ever vouchsafed such a manifestation? In making such inquiry we must be careful not to *assume* the very thing we wish to *prove*. We may not, for example, assume that the Bible is an inspired book, or that the writers in it were miraculously preserved from error, or that the Jewish people were specially called out by God to make his name known to the world; we may not in like manner argue *back* from the New Testament to the Old, or cite the words of Christ as establishing the veracity of prophets and psalmists; we are for the present to walk by reason and not by faith, to establish each assertion that we make by the

evidence of history, and to expect no greater credence from our readers than the evidence itself will compel. The Hindoo and Muhammadan beliefs having broken down under the touchstone of experience, we are about to see whether, under the same process, Christianity will or will not lead us to a confession of its divine origin.

Long ago, in a remote past, an Arab Sheikh dwelling in Ur of the Chaldees, received what he believed to be a call from God which said to him "*Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house unto a land that I will show thee, and I will make thee a great nation, and I will bless thee and make thy name great, and thou shalt be a blessing; and I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee; and in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed.*" In obedience to this call, Abraham leaves his home, and takes up his abode in the land of Canaan. The years pass by; Abraham is gathered to his fathers; but his descendants have multiplied and become a power in their adopted country; rich in flocks and herds, in men-servants and women-servants. Externally they have little to distinguish them from the people among whom they live. Their annals are stained by family quarrels, by acts of treachery, cruelty and profligacy, such as we should expect to find in a company of untutored, wandering shepherds. But they are held together by an invisible tie which cuts them off sharply from the surrounding peoples. They worship the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob; they are heirs of the promises that He made to the Chaldean Sheikh; their sons, they doubt not, will be monarchs of all that fair land which stretches away on every side around their encampment, until it meets the horizon. The years pass by and a series of strange vicissitudes have translated the descendants of Abraham—now grown into a numerous people—from the free shepherd life of Palestine to the hard servitude of Egypt. The story of their captivity and deliverance is too well known to require repetition, but the profound significance of those memorable events is lost by reason of that very familiarity. Pharaoh and his Egyptians are little more than names to us; Moses and his Israelites familiar in our mouths as household words. Pharaoh and all his splendour have passed away from the earth, leaving no sign behind them; Moses remains and will remain for ever one of the grandest characters in history, and we are so accustomed to contemplate them in this relation; that it is with difficulty we can picture them to ourselves in any other. But think what it was before the deliverance was achieved. On the one side there is the mightiest despot of primæval time—"the Pharaoh of Egypt, the Child of the Sun, the Beloved of Ammon"—clothed in all the outward splendour of pomp

and power and magnificence, endowed inwardly with all the semi-divine attributes which the superstition and instinctive veneration of that time delighted to throw around their monarchs—the very embodiment in fact of human greatness and unquestioned force. On the the other side, a simple shepherd—one of an oppressed and downtrodden nation of slaves,—whose seemingly hopeless mission it is to convince this tremendous potentate, that there is a Power fighting for the slave stronger than all the might of Egypt—that it matters not whether or not he consents to let the people go, because this Power will Himself lead them forth with a mighty hand and a stretched-out arm. And then the nature of the conflict—there is nothing to be found like it in the history of the world. There is no Marathon or Plataea, where the discipline and valour of the few show themselves to be stronger than a barbarian world in arms. There is no long struggle for life and death, during which we can see the horde of slaves being gradually knit into a nation, gradually developing latent powers of the mind, until, as through a baptism of fire, they enter into the condition of free men. It is throughout a single combat, Moses against Pharaoh. It would be foreign to the purpose of this paper to enter into a discussion on the precise nature of the ten plagues that fell upon Egypt. It is with the *time* of their occurrence and their *effect* upon the mind of Pharaoh that we are concerned. A succession of shocks, increasing in severity, are carried home to the conscience of the mighty Eastern king through no other visible agency than that of the solitary Israelite standing before him. Whatever their precise nature, they produce the result intended. They convince Pharaoh and all Egypt, that those slaves whom they had been used to treat as beasts of burden, were under the protection of a Being mightier far than Pharaoh. “Egypt was glad at their departing for they were afraid of them.”

And so also in their final deliverance on the shores of the Red Sea, the true miracle—the sign, that is, of God’s presence and protection—lies in the destruction of the Egyptians, not in the exact manner in which that destruction was effected. But here, as in Egypt, that which distinguishes it from all other deliverances recorded in history is the absence of human effort. The horde of slaves, even in their last extremity of despair, do not become converted into a nation of warriors capable of contending with the power of Egypt. They tremble and bewail themselves like the slaves they were. “Because there were no graves in Egypt, hast thou taken us away to die in the wilderness? It had been better for us to serve the Egyptians than that we should die in the wilderness.” And here, as in Egypt, the answer is that nothing is required of *them*. “*Stand still*, and see the salvation of the Lord which he will shew to you to day.” And so they are saved without stretching out a

hand or unsheathing a weapon in their own defence. The memory of these events sinks deep down into the heart of the people; it is passed on with undiminished vividness from generation to generation, appears and reappears in their magnificent poetry, in the table of their law, in every crisis of their history, but always—and here is the significant circumstance—with no self-glorification, no endeavour to represent the exodus from Egypt as a great national uprising against oppression. Moses and the people are alike set aside, and God is invariably represented as the sole agent in their deliverance. “I am the Lord thy God, who brought thee forth out of the Land of Egypt and out of the House of Bondage”—“Awake, awake, put on strength, O arm of the Lord; awake as in the ancient days, in the generations of old. Art thou not it which hath dried the sea, the waters of the great deep; that hath made the depths of the sea a way for the ransomed to pass over.”—“The waters saw Thee, O God, the waters saw Thee, and were afraid; the depths also were troubled.”—“The springs of waters were seen, and the foundations of the round world were discovered at thy chiding, O Lord, at the blasting of the breath of thy displeasure.” Such passages are only a few of many which will at once occur to all readers of the Old Testament. They express the innermost spirit of the Jew—his profound conviction of the absolute dependence of himself and all his nation upon the God revealed to Abraham. A further revelation awaits them. The House of Bondage lies far away behind them; they have seen the dead bodies of Pharaoh and his soldiers scattered along the shores of the ocean, and now among the barren mountains of Sinai, they are to learn the character of that Being who has done such great things for them. And this is his character. “*The Lord God, merciful and gracious, long suffering and abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin, and that will by no means clear the guilty; visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon the children's children, unto the third and to the fourth generation.*” A truly wonderful revelation, may we not say with Dean Milman, to have been entrusted to a wandering horde of barbarous Bedouins?

Here, then, we have reached the foundation of the Jewish Polity. In a world given up to every species of cruel and obscene idolatry,—a world worshipping demons of lust and murder,—bowing down in abject fear before the phenomena of nature, or the embodiment of arbitrary power, in some human tyrant—the Israelite had learned to confess the one Righteous and invisible God, a “merciful and gracious, long suffering and abundant in goodness and truth” but “that will by no means clear the

guilty." To apprehend this revelation in something of its fulness and depth—to become a living witness of its truth to the world beyond—this was the mission (at least so they believed) of the Jewish nation. In direct contrast to all the religions of the old world, the rites and sacrifices of which were all devices intended to propitiate an angry deity—attacks, so to speak, upon the weak side of his character to wring those favours from him, which of his own free will he would have withheld—every thing in the Jewish ritual started from the divine ground. The sacrifices of the temple were the appointment of God Himself—witnesses to the sinner that God *never* changed, that the way to a reconciliation was *never* closed against him. There was no attempt made to raise the Jewish people to a height of abstract theism, above the level of that age, and totally alien to the character of the nation. A law, a priesthood, sacrifices, and temples—these all existed in Egypt. The Israelite needed them as much as the Egyptian. But in Egypt all this religious pomp and ceremony were supposed to express the will of a *hidden* God, who had delegated the interpretation of that will to a priestly hierarchy. Men prayed and sacrificed hoping for the best, but unknowing what they did; and hence in times of calamity or peril, the sacrifices to Moloch—those frantic endeavours to propitiate the anger of an unknown though seemingly vengeful deity. In the temple, all the religious pomp and ceremony were the appointed worship of a God who had come forth from this obscurity—who had cast aside the veil which the priests had enfolded around Him, and revealed Himself as the "merciful and gracious, long suffering and abundant in goodness and truth."

The sacrifices of the heathen world expressed a deep and urgent need of the human heart, and as such they were adopted into the Jewish ritual, but their foundations were laid in the will of God, and not the sin stricken conscience of the creature, creating a God after the confusions of his own mind. There was, of course, the perpetual danger of a relapse into the old heathen attitude, and the whole history of the Jewish people is in fact a series of such relapses. But there was an *order*, in the realm—the true successors of Moses, and stronger than kings, priests and peoples,—the schools of the prophets who would not permit the old faith to die out. As the Assyrian and Babylonian storms burst in fury over the land, their voices rose like the chorus of a tremendous tragedy over the wreck of every ruined city, pleading in the interests of truth and justice; calling all men to witness of the feebleness of sin. "The prophet," to quote the words of a great religious teacher, "lived as the witness of a continual presence and power dwelling in the nation, which it may forget, but of which it cannot rid itself. He must rise up as the em-

blem of the conscience he awakens, of the law concerning which he testifies; he must come as a thief in the night upon the guilty soul; he must not allow it to forget itself in the dizzy whirl of events, or the monotony of observances; he must make it feel that one, as much as the other, speak of a living person, who is coming out of his place to judge, whose day is at hand. To fasten this fact upon the mind and heart of the people, he must oftentimes do strange acts; he and his children are for signs and wonders; he must walk barefoot; he must carry on a mimic siege; he must see his wife die and not weep; he must marry an adulteress;—by all means he must break the yoke of familiarity and custom, and yet he is most orderly. From first to last he is a witness for order. The neglect of institutions, the indifference to divine precepts, the recklessness of the everlasting covenant—these are his charges against kings, and priests and people.” And hence also even in his deepest anguish, the prophet could look forward in perfect confidence to the destruction of that Northern Empire which, with the might of brute force was breaking the nations into pieces. He could discern beyond the clouds and tempests the breaking of a brighter day, when the chosen people, purified by suffering, should return to their own land. “How beautiful,” he cries, “upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace, that saith unto Zion, thy God reigneth. Break forth into joy, sing together ye waste places of Jerusalem; for the Lord hath comforted his people, he hath redeemed Jerusalem.” Then, when they had become worshippers of the living God, in deed and in truth, the promise to Abraham would be fulfilled, and they would become a blessing to all the nations of the world.

Such, briefly stated, are the facts (denied by no one) which have to be accounted for in the history of the Jewish people, and whatever inference we draw from them, all at least must admit that they are unique. The Jews are, in a special sense, a peculiar people. Their history and their literature have had, and still continue to have, a power to rouse the energies and elevate the thoughts of whole communities for which there is no counterpart in history. In general, the strains that will rouse one nation to madness fall altogether flat upon minds brought up in other countries, and other influences. Not so with Jewish psalm or prophecy. They speak with undiminished power in any language, and in any clime, where the feeling of nationality exists.* And they do

* De Quincy has some very striking remarks on this characteristic of Jewish literature. “Greece,” he says, “was in fact too ebullient with intellectual activity—an activity too palestric and purely human—so that the opposite pole of the mind which points to the mysterious and spiritual was in the agile Greek—too intensely a child of the earth—starved and palsied; whilst in the Hebrew dull and inert intellectually, but in his

so because Jewish psalmist and prophet speak, not of something which they have learned at second hand, but of that which they *know*. No one will be hardy enough to deny that Moses was possessed with an overwhelming conviction that the God of Abraham of Isaac and of Jacob had commissioned him to lead their descendants from Egypt to the promised land. No one would venture to assert for a moment that Isaiah was using a mere figure of speech when he spoke of "the Word of the Lord" as coming to him in the days of Jotham, Uzziah, Ahaz and Hezekiah; or that Micah meant nothing more than is contained in a modern apostrophe to a Muse, when he declared "*the Spirit of the Lord God* is upon me to declare unto Jacob their transgression and to Israel their sin;" or that Jeremiah spoke other than words of the deepest sincerity when he declared that "the Word of God was like a burning fire shut up in his bones," compelling him to speak. No one doubts that all such expressions were, so to speak, forced from the lips of the great Hebrew teachers by the stress of terrible inward experiences. No one would deny that these experiences were not special and peculiar to themselves, but common, though in varying degrees of intensity, to the whole Jewish people; that their idolatrous propensities were but the upper stratum of a character which drew its sustaining power, and all its distinctive peculiarities, from an indestructible conviction that they were a people chosen by the invisible God to make known His name to a world sunk in idolatry.

No one—Christian or sceptic—denies these things; a divergence takes place when judgment is given as to whether

spiritual organs awake and sublime, the case was precisely reversed. Yet, after all, the result was immeasurably in favor of the Hebrew. Speaking in the deep sincerities of the solitary and musing heart which refuses to be duped by the whistling of names, we must say of the Greek that he has won the admiration of the human race; he is numbered among the chief brilliancies of the earth; but on the deeper and more abiding nature of man he has no hold. He will perish when any deluge of calamity overtakes the libraries of our planet, or if any great revolution of thought remoulds them, and will be remembered only as a generation of flowers is remembered; with the same tenderness of feeling, and the same pathetic sense of a natural predestination to evanescence. Whereas the Hebrew by introducing him-

self to the secret places of the human heart, and sitting there as incubator over the awful germs of the spiritualities that connect man with the unseen world; has perpetuated himself as a power in the human system; he is co-enduring with man's race, and careless of all revolutions in literature or in the composition of society. The very languages of these two races repeat the same expression of their intellectual differences, and of the differences in their missions. The Hebrew meagre and sterile as regards the numerical wealth of its ideas, is infinite as regards their power; the Greek, on the other hand, rich as tropic forests in the polymorphous life, the life of the dividing and distinguishing intellect, is weak only in the supreme region of thought. DeQuincy's Works, vol. ix., p. 80.

this belief of the Jewish people was a delusion of the imagination, or justified by the objective truth of things. In other words, had God revealed Himself to them, or did they merely dream that He had done so? This, we hold to be, the most momentous question that man can propose to himself, for it is indubitable that if the Jewish belief was not the product of an actual revelation of God, the spiritual aspirations of mankind everywhere must melt away like the baseless fabric of a vision. If God did not make Himself known to the Jews, he has certainly done so to no other people under the sun. The first great characteristic which marks off the Jewish faith is the fact of *growth*. It did not spring up full formed in the brains of a single man, or even of a single generation, to be written out in a book and made incapable of change thenceforth. It was what, in modern parlance, would be called, a strictly scientific faith, gradually approximating to completion, and gathering strength from the accumulated experiences of many generations. And these experiences—at least the most critical of them—were not subjective only, but took the shape of marvellous deliverances which carried home the conviction of God's presence to hearts altogether out of the range of the peculiar influences which might be supposed to have moulded Jewish thought into a monotheistic form. It is possible to conceive that a man in the position of Moses—a solitary exile from Egypt, under penalty of death—might have dreamed that he had a divine commission to free his fellow captives from the yoke of Pharaoh, and conduct them back to land promised their forefathers; it is possible, though much more difficult, to conceive that a fanatic possessed by this belief might actually have expected to prevail over Pharaoh without having any material resources to appeal to; but it is utterly impossible that a visionary belief on his side could have worked with all the power of a reality on the mind of Pharaoh. That monarch would not have consented to part with a multitude of slaves in obedience to the dictum of one who must have appeared to him as a half crazy fanatic. God *must* in some way have responded to the call of Moses, to have produced a conviction of His power in the mind of the Egyptian king. The Old Testament records the manner in which that conviction was effected; but the evidence of a direct revelation of God's power and purposes—of a direct discovery made to Pharaoh and his people, that Moses and Aaron were in truth the messengers of One who could blight their splendour and greatness by a word—is altogether unaffected whether we regard the ten plagues as natural or supernatural occurrences. Their *effect* it is we have to look to—the conviction they wrought into the mind of the Egyptian not less than the Israelite that the powers of nature the Egyptian worshipped were under

a Being above them all who was speaking by the mouth of Moses. And so also with the passage of the Red Sea. The usual manner of pronouncing judgment on these (so called) miraculous occurrences, is to tear them away from their context, and ask ourselves if the thing *per se* is credible or not. But it was not what we should call the supernaturalism of the passage across the Red Sea which gave it its peculiar significance in the mind of the Israelite. It was that at their hour of extreme peril, the same God that had brought them forth out of Egypt interposed yet once again—a very present help in time of trouble—and therefore that they would have no fear though the earth were moved, and the mountains were carried into the midst of the sea. It is the *deliverance* itself and not the exact means by which it was effected that is the all-important point. Out of that deliverance grew the Jewish nation, and all the Jewish literature; and every event of their after history is a confirmation of the meaning they read in the passage of the Red Sea. They were a great and prosperous nation in precise proportion to the depth of their belief in the God who had led them out of Egypt; they became a prey to the nations around them exactly as they lost their trust in Him, and hoped that idols would protect them. And the history of every nation under the sun is an independent testimony leading up to the same conviction.

It would, moreover, be nothing less than a miracle if a mere delusion of the imagination should have wrought the effects manifest in Jewish literature. All nations have had their aspirations after God; all nations have had their religious writings; but that direct and immediate intuition of God's presence, which is the special attribute of Jewish bard and prophet, belongs to them alone. Beyond the circle of their literature, we pass into the light of common day. All this evidence, as we know, is rejected as insufficient by many learned men, but it is in its nature and completeness as strong as that on which we act with the utmost certainty. How do we know that we need food? By the exhaustion which supervenes if we abstain from it. How do we know that food corrects this exhaustion? By the renewed vigour that ensues so soon as we have partaken of it. Precisely similar were the experiences of the Jewish nation; precisely similar have been the experiences of every people who have walked in the light of the same faith. They have all felt the need of the God who brought his people out of the land of bondage, by the weakness, physical and mental, which has overtaken them when they have learned to trust in other gods; they have all felt the same renewing of spiritual and intellectual energies when they have striven to become the servants of One, "who will by no means clear the guilty." Of

course the rationalistic explanation is that these results are brought about by an imaginative delusion. But this explanation is purely arbitrary, and seems to us absurd on the face of it. A man cannot recruit his physical strength by an imaginary dinner; and it is purely inconceivable that the mind should renew its strength without borrowing from some reservoir outside of itself. Besides, why should this renewed vigour be obtained by the imagination only when brooding over the Jewish faith? Why should that faith remain a perennial spring of mental vigour and human progress, and no similar results proceed from the devout imaginings of Hindoo and Muhammadan? There is no answer to be given to these questions, except that the one faith is based upon the everlasting realities, and has its roots directly watered by the springs of eternal life, and that the other beliefs at least in their present corrupted condition, are not so fortunate.

But the revelation accorded to the Jews was confessedly incomplete—incomplete by the acknowledgment of the very men who lived in the light of it. Mr. Maine in his work on "Ancient Law" has set forth with inimitable force and clearness the long and gradual process whereby the individual is segregated from the mass of the community into separate, self-conscious life—how the family, the primary unit, develops into the tribe, the tribe into the nation, and how out of the idea of the nation, the individual emerges with his own peculiar rights and duties which none can share with him. With this external development there also comes a habit of introspection, which gradually subordinates the mere outward act to the abiding motive from which it springs. We can see this change being gradually worked out through all the Old Testament writings and leading up to a consciousness, ever becoming clearer and clearer, that it was not possible for the blood of bulls and of goats to take away sins. The need for an inward change to reconcile men with God, breaks out in the writings of psalmists and prophets in almost fierce denunciations of the Mosaic ritualism, which seemed to them to positively deaden the hearts of the people. "Your new moons, and your appointed feasts my soul hateth; they are a trouble unto me; I am weary to bear them Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil; learn to do well."—"I am God, even thy God. I will not reprove thee, for thy sacrifices or thy burnt offerings to have been continually before me. I will take no bullock out of thy house, nor he goat out of thy folds; for every beast of the forest is mine, and so are the cattle upon a thousand hills Offer unto God thanksgiving and pay thy vows unto the most High." "Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or ten thousands of rivers

of oil? He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God." Out of such feelings gushed that stream of on-looking thought that beheld in anticipation a fuller discovery of God's nature, which we can trace back to the time of Abraham himself, and which flows with an increasing volume to the very close of the old dispensation. This is what is commonly called the "predictions of the Messiah." "It was," writes Dean Stanley, "the distinguishing mark of the Jewish people that their golden age was not in the past but in the future; that their greatest hero (as they deemed Him to be) was not their founder, but their founder's latest descendant. Their traditions, their fancies, their glories, gathered round the head not of a chief, or warrior, or sage that had been, but of a king, a deliverer, a prophet who was to come. Of this singular expectation the prophets were, if not the chief authors, at least the chief exponents. Sometimes He is named, sometimes He is unnamed; sometimes he is almost identified with some actual prince of the coming or the present generation, sometimes he recedes into the distant ages. But again and again, at least in the later prophetic writings, the vista is closed by His person, His character, His reign. And almost everywhere, the prophetic spirit, in the delineation of His coming, remains true to itself. He is to be a king, a conqueror, yet not by the common weapons of earthly warfare, but by those only weapons which the prophetic order recognised—by justice, mercy, truth, and goodness,—by suffering, by endurance, by identification of Himself with the joys, the sufferings of His nation, by opening a wider sympathy to the whole human race than had ever been opened before. That this expectation, however explained, existed in a greater or less degree amongst the prophets, is not doubted by any theologians of any school whatever. It is no matter of controversy. It is a simple and universally recognised fact that, filled with these prophetic images, the whole Jewish nation—nay, at last the whole Eastern world—did look forward with longing expectation to the coming of this future conqueror. Was this unparalleled expectation realised? And here again I speak only of facts which are acknowledged by Germans, and Frenchmen, no less than by Englishmen; by critics and by sceptics even more fully than by theologians and ecclesiastics. There did arise out of this nation a character, by universal consent, as unparalleled as the expectation which had preceded him. Jesus of Nazareth was, on the most superficial no less than on the deepest view we take of His coming, the greatest name, the most extraordinary power, that has ever crossed the stage of history. And this greatness consisted not in outward power, but precisely in those qualities on which, from first to last, the prophetic order

had laid the utmost stress—justice and love, goodness and truth.”*

This passage is most important for our present purpose. The usual method in which “destructive criticism” treats the life of Christ, is to take the four gospels, as something isolated and wholly apart from the current of ordinary history, to strike out the miraculous element as incredible on *a priori* grounds, and then out of the mutilated residue, to build up a wholly imaginary figure as the veritable Jesus of Nazareth. It is not likely that for this kind of work, a more accomplished artificer than M. Renan will ever present himself, and there are not, we fancy, two opinions among men competent to judge, that his delineation of the founder of Christianity,—part enthusiast, part cheat, and wholly sentimental Frenchman,—is little better than a pitiful absurdity. The fact is that the method on which “destructive criticism” sets to work, excludes the possibility of reconstruction, and is ridiculous on the face of it. If a man chooses to reject the incidents in the New Testament on the ground of their inherent incredibility, that is an intelligible position; but it is the merest folly and presumption, having done so, to call upon the world to accept another version of them which must either be derived from those documents he has rejected as untrustworthy, or be wholly evolved from his own imagination. To the present writer, at least, it seems impossible to cast aside the supernaturalism of the New Testament, without reducing the early history of the Christian Church to an utterly unintelligible chaos. That Christ was the Son of God, that He rose from the dead, and ascended into Heaven, were proclaimed as facts by his followers *immediately* after his death, and years before any of the Gospels, as we have them, had come into being. They constituted the very ground and reason of the new faith; every hope, every promise held out to the believer, is conditional on their truth. “*If Christ*” says St. Paul, “*be not risen from the dead, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain.*” No doubt, if we simply ask ourselves whether it is credible that the son of a Jewish carpenter should rise from the dead and ascend into heaven, we must at once acknowledge that it is wholly incredible. But this is not the way to ascertain the truth of any event whatsoever recorded in history. An event may easily be incredible *per se*, and yet be quite natural when looked at in connection with the past and the future. Before pronouncing judgment, there are, in fact, three questions to be considered. 1.—Was there anything in the past history of the world which seemed to lead up to such an event? 2.—Supposing such an event to have happened, are the accounts we have of it consistent—do they,

* Lectures on the Jewish Church. Vol. I. p. 471-2.

that is, show that if the anticipations were to be fulfilled, they could only have been so in this way? 3.—Does the after history of the world, by its character and events, show that those anticipations were actually fulfilled in the manner described?

The first of these questions we have already answered. We find that about the time of the coming of Christ, there was a general expectation in the East of some marvellous King or Deliverer, who was to establish the kingdom of God on the earth. This expectation, we also find, had been fostered and disseminated by one particular nation called out, according to their own account, by God Himself for this very purpose. The Deliverer, who was to redeem His people from their sins, would, they said, be one of their nation. We have examined what ground there is for supposing that this particular people were in any special sense witnesses of God. We have found that the conviction had been forced into their minds by a series of events, which were manifestly out of the ordinary course of nature; we have found moreover that this which they declared it was their mission to do,—to spread the knowledge of God—they actually have done; that their teaching is instinct with a direct and immediate intuition of God's presence which belongs to no other literature; that five thousand years of history have confirmed the truth of the principles they taught, and that they still speak with undiminished power to the most advanced nations of the world. All these facts taken together relieve the events related in the New Testament of all their abruptness, and a great deal of their improbability. They show that if there be a providential government of the universe—the hypothesis we assumed as true when starting on this inquiry,—the revelation of God in Christ had been carefully prepared for, and would, if it actually took place, fit into the scheme of things precisely where we find it. We pass on to the second consideration—the nature of the Revelation itself.

The world at that time had almost wholly lost the idea of a gracious and orderly government over the minds and bodies of men. Men deemed themselves to be the slaves of every lust and passion, and conceived the deities who ruled over them to be beings of like character with themselves. Over the whole scheme of things was the notion of an utterly immoral arbitrary force embodied in the Roman Emperor. The Jews formed no exception. Their God was precisely similar *in character* to the Roman Emperor, only he happened to be invisible. Suddenly in the midst of a world thus sunk in abject subjection to mere force, a voice is heard proclaiming that God is Love—that He wills that all men should be perfect as their Father in heaven is perfect. The voice came from one, moving in the humblest sphere of life, who had “no beauty nor comeliness that men should desire him,” One “who was despised and

rejected, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief," and yet in spite of all, who taught the people as "one having *authority*" to do so. When asked for his authority, He declared—or at least so his disciples affirmed—that He was the Light of the world—the Word of God who was at once with God from all eternity, and also the light that lighted every man who had come into the world. His mission, he declared, was to reveal the character of God, and to expound the nature of that kingdom, it was His will to set up among men. This kingdom of heaven, he said, was within a man, and consisted in purity of heart, in a spirit of forgiveness and charity, in a zeal for truth, in an emancipation of the will from its bondage to evil. The object of all his teaching, of every act of His life, was to reconcile men with God—to disabuse, that is, the minds of men of their dark and perverted notions of the Deity, by the manifestation of Him as a Being infinite in power, but infinite also in goodness and mercy and love. And this He accomplished—so his disciples declared—by miracles of healing which were intended as a sign that all pain and disease and suffering were infractions of the Divine Order—by a life of sinless purity to convince men that there was a power mightier than the sin which held them in subjection—by a Resurrection from the Grave and Ascension into Heaven, to show that even Death was not the ultimate Lord of Life, or the Grave the final goal of man's existence. A startling story, it must be confessed, and one, on the mere face of it, altogether incredible. There are, however, many circumstances connected with it, which have compelled the most sceptical to hesitate before pronouncing it a forgery.

The first point that strikes us is, that *this idea* of a Messiah would never have occurred to a Jewish fanatic or impostor. The Jewish conception of their coming deliverer was gathered from the passages in their books which spoke of him as a mighty king and conqueror. "Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah, this that is glorious in His apparel, travelling in the greatness of His strength?"—Such were the thoughts they had of Him. They looked for a despot after the Roman pattern, only infinitely more powerful, who would make the Jews the masters of the whole world—transfer, in a word, the Roman dominion to their keeping. The son of a carpenter who kept company with publicans and sinners—who denounced the Pharisees as a generations of vipers doomed to the damnation of hell—who told them to render unto Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's—who assumed the right to forgive sins—who wished to make them believe that they had utterly and completely misunderstood the very prophets whose sepulchres they had rebuilt—who affirmed that they and their city, their temple and the whole Jewish polity were on the eve of annihilation, could

certainly have hoped for nothing but a speedy death. Whatever he was, he could not have been an impostor. Impostors do not occupy themselves in compassing their own destruction by a merciless exposure of the moral sores of the society in which they move. Was he a fanatic then? We reject the notion the instant that it is proposed to us. From first to last there is not a trace in the career of Christ of what we understand by fanaticism, or even enthusiasm. He exhibits no haste, no impatience, but moves calmly and majestically forward to a predetermined goal. He predicts the effects of his life and death with no urgency of desire to *force* assent from his hearers, but as simple inevitable facts which he *knows* will take place. *I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men to me. I am the light of the world. He that believeth on me hath everlasting life.* It is the combination of two antagonistic characters in a single person which makes the delineation of Christ so unique a portrait. We have a complete self-abnegation, an utter dependence on the will of God, combined with an assertion of power over the minds of men which places the speaker far above the level of humanity; and yet both coexist in perfect harmony. The majesty, the all-embracing love, the humility, the stern severity against evil, the tenderness, compassion and forgiveness combine together to form a personality which Shakespeare himself could never have dreamed of—which it is altogether incredible to suppose could have been foisted on the world by a conscious impostor. Either Christ was what he was depicted to be in the Four Gospels, or His disciples represented Him as such after His death. In the latter case we have the wholly inexplicable phenomenon of a few ignorant Galilean fishermen constructing a fiction of unequalled grandeur and beauty, and, preaching it as true—For what? For no other conceivable purpose than to obtain for themselves sure and speedy martyrdom.

Now no man in a state of sanity would act thus, and the most sceptical writers are staggered by the difficulty. But they still decide against the authenticity of the Gospel narrative on the *a priori* incredibility of God appearing in human flesh at all. That one difficulty outweighs all the evidence that may be adduced to the contrary. But this particular objection we set aside at starting. We assumed as a fact—that God could reveal Himself to men if He pleased, and whether He has done so in this way is the very question which has to be considered. It has at least been asserted that He did, and the records of that event preclude the notion of imposture, and equally of mere imaginative delusion. There is, however, a third test yet to be applied. The Muhammadans believe that their Koran is the word of God, revealed by the Angel Gabriel to the Prophet; the Hin-

doos set up a similar claim for their sacred writings, and there can be no doubt that millions of human beings have lived and are living in both faiths. We have however rejected their claim to this origin, on the ground that they have not produced the effects which, coming from God, they ought to have done. We have found that Western civilisation is a stronger power than either, a fact which is utterly incompatible with their divine origin. Can Christianity stand this last and conclusive test? Are the effects which it has wrought upon the earth at all proportionate to the splendour of its origin? Are they consistent therewith? Does it still continue to manifest undiminished signs of vitality? Here, as in all other parts of this essay, the want of space precludes the possibility of giving anything approaching to an exhaustive reply to these searching queries. We can only faintly indicate the lines of thought, leaving to the thought and knowledge of our readers to fill in the details.

First then what ought such a religion as Christianity to have accomplished? The usual objection urged against it is that it has not done enough. The sceptic points to the cruel and continual wars that have desolated the face of Europe—the horrible religious persecutions, the massacres, servitude, oppression and mortal animosities which have imprinted themselves in characters of blood on every page of Western history. They urge the present condition of Europe, the profligacy and pauperism that infest the great cities, the commercial dishonesty, the greed after riches, the worship of power—in a word all that ghastly catalogue of evils which seem to flourish with a more than tropic luxuriance in the hot bed of civilisation; and they ask if it be possible, in the face of such things, to maintain that Christianity can be of divine origin. There is no argument which, in this country we meet with in Anglo Indian papers so frequently as this; and there can be no doubt that superficially it seems difficult to answer. It may, certainly, be alleged and with absolute truth—that these evils are not the result of Christianity, but of a disregard of it; but, in the present connection, it is more to the purpose to point out that no other result was ever anticipated by the first preachers of Christianity. “*I am not come to send peace into the world but a sword.*” *Because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold.*” Such were the forecasts of Christ. We have moreover in the last book of the New Testament, the very process presented under a series of symbols, whereby the dominion of Christ was to be set up over the nations. Let not the reader be alarmed. We are not about to enter upon the interminable discussion as to the meanings of seals and trumpets. It is the general character only of the book with which we are concerned. There is no softness in it, no dreams of an Arcadian felicity about to

dawn upon the earth ; rather, the absolute certainty of a fiercer conflict than any the world had yet known, recalling almost involuntarily the prophecy of Isaiah.—“ Every battle of the warrior is with confused noise and garments rolled in blood, but *this* shall be *with burning and fuel of fire.*” There are two potent enemies which have to be encountered. Power that does not rest upon a foundation of right and justice, symbolised under the name of Babylon, which whether applied to Nineveh, Babylon or Rome, always typified to the Jewish mind mere brute force, unrighteous power—and Spiritual Beliefs which draw their sustenance from the lusts and superstition of mankind, not from faith and love—symbolised as “ the great city which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt where also our Lord was crucified.” The conflict of the Son of Man against these two powers is depicted under the image of a great battle on the plains of Megiddo,—the scene where, for good or evil, the destiny of the Children of Israel had been so often decided. Behind, indeed, as an English divine has pointed out, there are visions of a most glorious peace, of a wonderful order, of a new Jerusalem descending from God out of heaven. But the way to them is through battle and blood. Is not this precisely what has happened ? Is not this what we see *must* happen if we reflect for a moment upon the nature of man. A man is not a machine, but a free agent who, within certain limits, can either choose to do a thing or not to do it, just as he pleases. If he is what we understand by a bad man, not all the external compulsion in the world can convert him into a good one. Whatever attempts we make with that end in view, must be addressed to his reason and conscience ; we must enlighten them ; we must cause his mind to confess by its own free act its rightful masters, before we can make one step towards his emancipation. This power of choice is the very essence of humanity ; so soon as from any cause whatever a man is deprived of it, he ceases to be a man and sinks into a chattel. The conflict then that the Spirit of Christ had to carry on was in the region of the responsible will. He had to enlighten the “ inner eye ”—to fill it with the beauty of truth, holiness and freedom, until the whole man rose up in protest against the false gods which strove to keep him in subjection. At every such insurrection of the human mind the menaced Spiritual Evil has risen up in wrath, and in obedience to the law of its nature, striven to extinguish its enemy in blood. In the presence of this unceasing struggle we are apt to lose sight of the vast strides the world has actually taken since the days of Christ ; how one dark superstition after another has been chased into the shadows of night ; how every one—even successful tyrants in the very act of consummating their iniquity—acknowledge, in spite of themselves, that their power must be founded upon right and justice if it is to be enduring ; how every

one—at least in the area of Christianity—is so saturated with the conviction of “progress”—“the one Divine, far off event, to which the whole creation moves,”—that the obvious fact of at least three parts of the universe being steadily retrogressive is but as small dust in the balance. Such convictions have become mere common places. They are so inwrought into the very structure of our minds, that many eminent thinkers repel, not without indignation, the notion that man was ever destitute of them; and yet nothing can be more certain than,—that previous to the appearance of Christ, they had literally no place in human speculation outside of the Jewish people. The golden age for all the rest of the world lay behind, in an infinitely remote past. They are a fulfilment, to the very letter, of the prediction of Christ, that His Spirit should *convince* the world of sin, of righteousness and of judgment. So far then the promises of Christ have not been belied by the result.

The great work which Christ had to do was to reconcile men with God, and this He sought to accomplish by the simple proclamation in his speeches, in his acts, and in his death, that God is love or light, and that in Him is no darkness at all. Here also we find that He has perfectly succeeded. Wherever Christian thought has penetrated, there the old heathen conception of the deity is rapidly and surely dying out; wherever it has thoroughly interpenetrated the minds of a people, there the old heathen conception of propitiatory sacrifices is remembered only with a sort of blank amazement, as things almost inconceivable on account of their superstitious folly. And here also we find that the Christian conception of the deity has become so inwrought into the mind, that people appeal to it as a proof positive that Christ taught no more than what is innate in every man, and that to assume for him a divine mission on this account is wholly superfluous. And yet nothing can be more certain than this—that the Christian idea of God never arose even dimly in the minds of any, but a solitary thinker here and there, before the coming of Christ, and that to this day it is almost wholly absent from every part of the world which has not been brought into contact with Christian thought. The sudden stir and restlessness of theological thought in this country is altogether due to the presence of this new power. The Spirit of Christ, in spite of the apathy of the Hindoo, and the more active aversion of the Muhammadan, has acted as an inspirer and awakener here as elsewhere.

But Christ's mission was not only to reconcile man with God, but to give to man himself a standard of conduct, not simply embodied in written precepts but set forth in a life. He had to dispart the evil from the good—the false from the true—the pure from the impure—and to exhibit as a power governing every day life, the unsearchable riches that are

latent in our moral and intellectual nature. And all this, he declared, was not to be a mere drama played for once on the theatre of the world,

A lovely apparition sent
To be a moment's ornament.

His Spirit was to abide with men for ever, in order to carry home to the hearts and consciences of the coming generations, the life of Christ as the true measure of humanity. That life and that spirit were to become a new formative power to elevate individual existence to a higher level of thought and action. And here, also, we find that his predictions have been fulfilled to the letter. The familiarity of the fact has caused us in a great measure to lose the sense of its wonderfulness; but is there not, when we reflect upon it, something altogether past finding out in the literature of the New Testament, rising up without effort, without any flourishing of trumpets, but "silently as the spring time its crown of verdure weaves," in one of the most utterly corrupt periods of the world's history. The mind simply bows in silent wonder and thankfulness at the thought of St. Paul, dwelling in the Rome of Nero, chained incessantly to a Roman soldier, and yet looking forward with the calm assurance of untroubled faith to a future day when "there would be neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free; but Christ would be all and in all." Nor is this all. It may well happen that men of surpassing power and reach of mind may at times mount up to intellectual heights where, like Moses from the summit of Pisgah, they behold the Promised Land spread out before them in peaceful beauty, long before it becomes visible to the sojourner upon the plain. It may, too, and indeed has often happened, that a contagion of fanaticism has spread through masses of men making them for the time indifferent to death. But the unapproachable sublimity of the apostolic teaching was based upon a firm conscious grasp upon truth, which we find coming forth in the lives and acts of the humblest Christians not less than the highest. "The very young and the very old, the child, the youth in the heyday of his passions, the sober man of middle age, maidens and mothers of families, boors and slaves, as well as philosophers and nobles, solitary confessors and companies of men and women,—all these were seen equally to defy the powers of darkness to do their worst. In this strange encounter, it became a point of honour with the Roman to break the determination of his victim, and it was the triumph of faith when his most savage expedients for that purpose were found to be in vain. The martyrs shrank from suffering like other men, but such natural shrinking was incommensurable with apostasy. No intensity of torture had

any means of affecting what was a mental conviction ; and the sovereign Thought in which they had lived was their adequate support and consolation in their death. And when Rome at last found she had to deal with a host of Scœvolas, then the proudest of earthly sovereignties arrayed in the completeness of her material resources, humbled herself before a power which was founded on a mere sense of the Unseen.* It is this combination of qualities—calm, heroic endurance in the body of the believers, depth and sublimity in the moral and intellectual teaching of the leaders,—and their ultimate triumph by the persuasive power of conviction, which have stamped upon the early history of Christianity a character of its own. The same characteristics have formed a part of the history of Christendom ever since. There have been—notably in the sixteenth century—crises in the history of Europe—when “the sense of the Unseen” which upheld the primitive martyrs has well-nigh seemed to have faded out of the minds of men—when God has been again thought of in His old heathen guise, as a Being who might be *bribed* to overlook the sins of men—who had no special desire for their inward purification, so long as He duly received an equivalent. And the call, by whatsoever made,—by protestant reformations or French revolutions—which recalled men back to the old “sense of the Unseen” has always brought back with it, as from the grave, the calm, enduring courage of the early martyrs, and to some degree at least, the purity, depth and sublimity of the early teaching. And here is that which distinguishes Christianity from either Islamism or Hindooism, that it is *not* as commonly stated founded upon a book, but upon the sense of the unseen “Word of God” as an ever-present, ever-active power, to enlighten and awaken the individual reason and conscience. “*I am the Light of the World*” says Christ ; “*I am the Way and the Truth and the Life* ;” “*I am the Bread of Life*.” Men have tried, and doubtless will continue to try by all manner of terrible devices, to limit the life of Christ within the circle of their particular opinions, but they cannot do so without a denial of the very foundation of Christianity. It is because they have not succeeded—because in spite of all the frantic efforts of kings and priests and persecutors to dam up the free current of human thought, and compel it to stagnate in artificial channels—the Western mind has never ceased to develop itself in a multitude of new directions, has never failed to burst asunder the chains which were intended to restrain it, has advanced without intermission, harmonising the old with the new, and the new with the old, until the belief in a God of order has altogether superseded the chaos of

* Newman's Grammar of Assent, p. 471.

the old world—it is because all this has been accomplished that we hold Christ's promises to have been fulfilled—that his disappearance from earth did herald in a Spirit of Truth which is guiding the world into all truth.

Here then, is the historical evidence in favour of Christianity. We find that it has its roots far back in the earliest period of history; that it has grown with the growth of intelligence and the accumulation of experience; that every such accession of knowledge bears the impress of an eternal truth in that the records which contain it appeal with undiminished power, in spite of the lapse of ages, to the most advanced nations of the world; that its full manifestation was prepared for by a careful education of mankind for that purpose; and finally, that the after history of the world has flowed along the channels predicted by Christ, and has resulted in a richer treasury of thought and knowledge, a higher ideal of life, and an infinitely more powerful and expansive order of society than is to be found anywhere beyond the limits of Christianity. As against Islamism and Hindooism this last result is conclusive. Their impotency either to vanquish, or to assimilate the new forces which have assailed their borders, is an indisputable proof that they do *not* possess the key to the mysteries of the universe. But there are still two questions to be answered before our paper is complete. 1.—In what relation does Christianity stand to the other religions of the world? 2.—What proof is there that Christianity itself is not on the eve of extinction, vanquished by the new power that has only just appeared above the horizon, and is commonly known as “Modern Thought?”

Christianity, we have found, asserts itself to be the discovery, or “revelation” of the mind and purposes of God. Its fundamental tenets are that God “has made of one blood (*i.e.* nature) all nations of men, that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him and find him; though he be not far from any one of us, for in Him we live and move and have our being,”—that “when the Gentiles (*i.e.*, the non-Christian world) who have not the law, do by nature the things that are contained in the law, these having not the law are a law unto themselves; which show the works of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness”—that God “is no respecter of persons, but in whatsoever country he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of him”—and finally that “the Word of God”—or in other words, He who manifests forth the character of God, as the spoken word of a man manifests the mind that abides within him—is the Light, not merely of the Christian, but of “every man that comes into the world.” The sole claim that the Christian insists upon, is that he is in possession of this knowledge which is of vital importance to all human kind.

When Hindoo and Muhammadan insist upon the good and great men that have risen up under the teaching of their creeds ; when they recall to his memory the many true and beautiful precepts recorded in their sacred books, and ask if these do not testify of a divine origin as indubitably as similar lives and similar precepts which have come forth under the influence of Christianity, the Christian at once admits the justice of the claim. The ground would be cut away from under his feet were he to do otherwise. God, he knows well, has never left himself without a witness upon the earth, seeing He has been everywhere a Light in the hearts of men filling them with joy and gladness—revealing Himself as a law written on their hearts which unfolded before them the idea of duty, the beauty of holiness, and the hatefulness of evil. The lives of all the good men that ever lived, the beautiful precepts that are to be found in every religion under heaven, are so many convincing testimonies of this Divine Presence—the universal privilege of human kind. But this being so, how is it, he asks, that whereas one portion of the world has continually advanced from one stage of enlightenment to another, there has been no similar progress elsewhere. How is it, for example, that a small island like Great Britain should be able to rule, without difficulty, the vast peninsula of Hindoostan ? The conclusion is inevitable,—that European civilisation has entered, according to the expression of Guizot, into the eternal truth, into the plan of Providence ; it advances according to the intentions of God. This is the rational solution of its superiority. Hitherto, as we have indicated in this essay, the spring of this moving and progressive life has been derived from the faith, that the appearance of Christ on the Earth was the discovery to man of “this plan of providence,” of this “eternal truth ;” and the Christian, therefore, who asks Hindoo or Muhammadan to become partakers in his faith, simply seeks to put them in possession of that knowledge which has done such great things. He asks them to give up no partial aspect of the truth which may have discovered itself to them ; he only seeks to disengage them from the obscurities and falsehoods which have veiled the apprehension of the whole. And this is the condemnation if they refuse, that “light is come into the world, but men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil.” The whole religious history of the world, Christendom included, is an exact fulfilment of those simple but far-seeing words.

“But” the Hindoo or Muhammadan may reply, “there is now a wholly new difficulty which requires solution. Hitherto, it may be, as you say, that Christianity was indeed and in truth ‘the life of the world,’ but what say you to this new power, ‘modern thought ?’ These writers in the *Fortnightly Review* and else-

where speak of you and your Christianity as already *in articulo mortis*, and declare that we are all to worship a quite new deity to be called "Physical Science" in general, or more particularly 'Evolution.'

The reply to an inquiry of this kind is difficult on account of the extraordinary vagueness of the expression "modern thought." It is a phrase which rings in one's ears wherever one goes, and it seems to be used as though "modern thought" and "religious scepticism" were convertible terms, and there was no thought in the world except of an utterly sceptical character. Another general impression is that this modern scepticism is of a peculiarly searching and terrific character, dividing asunder the joints and the marrow, and the like of which has never before been seen in the earth. Out of these two impressions—has arisen a vague but wide-spread conviction that the very foundations of Christianity are being rapidly undermined, and the fabric already totters to its fall. Now both of these impressions are grossly exaggerated. By far the larger portion of modern thought is not sceptical at all; although differing widely on many subordinate points, it is anchored firmly on a faith in the divine mission of Christ. Between the ultramontanism of Archbishop Manning, and the intellectual unitarianism of Mr. Martineau, there is a vast space to be travelled, but the whole intervening distance is filled by names known through all Europe for their learning and genius,—the bearers of which would, all of them, assert their title to be considered the followers of Christ. Mere difference of opinion, as to the relations which some deep central truth has to the whole scheme of things does not, as many people seem to suppose, argue any want of faith in the central truth itself. The attitude which men assume towards each other on account of such differences is no doubt deplorable in the extreme, but the differences themselves are essential to a living and progressive faith. If Christ be truly "the life of the world," it is impossible that any one mind should apprehend singly the full significance of this truth. Each thinker, each seeker after the light, brings back to the general store that portion of the whole which has discovered itself to him;—nay, the labours of the most utter sceptics, if only conscientiously undertaken, generally open out a way to unthought-of verifications of the central truth. In these latter days, we know of no writings which have conduced more to deeper and wider apprehension of the Christian revelation, than the lives of Christ by Strauss and Renan, and the critical works of the "Tübingen" school. A creed lives by opposition; the persecutions of former days are for us replaced by intellectual difficulties, and the recurring need to bring the Old into harmony with the New, without the

mutilation of either ; but the "sense of the Unseen" which upheld the martyrs of the Roman world, is as much needed now as it was then.

The Scepticism, moreover, which strikes people as so formidable and unprecedented, does so mainly because the scepticism of former days has become dwarfed by distance. If we had lived in the time when Christianity was little else than a conviction possessed by a few Galilean fishermen and a tent maker of Tarsus, we should hardly have credited it with the power to vanquish the resistance of the Roman empire. The scepticism of to-day is, in no degree so sweeping and so thorough as that which had settled down upon Europe when Luther's voice awoke the slumbering spiritualities of the world. Any one who will take the trouble to read a few pages of Ranke's *History of the Popes*, will learn that in the very precincts of the Vatican, atheism and materialism were the fashionable forms of conviction ; and we have only to turn to such books as Boccaccio's *Decameron* to see how the very sense of a moral law seems to have perished from the minds of multitudes of human beings. The Roman Church curses Luther to this day, but it is as plain as the sun in heaven that but for his appeal to the nations of Europe, startling her out of her sleep, such men as Loyola, Xavier, and others of the first Jesuit missionaries would never have been roused to vindicate her claim to the allegiance of mankind. A creed, as we have said, lives and can live only in an atmosphere of opposition ; men lose the sense of its vital connection with the moral fibres of their being, if no effort is made to detach it from them ; and hence the surpassing folly of religious men who wish to shackle the freedom of discussion. They are compassing the destruction of the very faith they desire to save. What, again, is the infidelity of the present day compared with that of the eighteenth century when Hume, Voltaire, Diderot, and Helvetius were assailing Christianity,—when Bishop Butler, the most cautious and conscientious of thinkers, could express himself as follows,—“It is come, I know not how, to be taken for granted by many persons, that Christianity is not so much as a subject of inquiry ; but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious. And, accordingly, they treat it, as if, in the present age, this were an agreed point among all people of discernment ; and nothing remained but to set it up as a principal subject of mirth and ridicule, as it were by way of reprisals for its having so long interrupted the pleasures of the world.” That this ridiculous belief should ever resume its empire over the spirits of cultivated men would have seemed to the advanced thinkers of that day a notion too preposterous for aught but laughter. Their proofs of its hollowness and imposture seemed to them so

completely satisfactory and convincing. And yet, any one who reads at this time the polemics of Voltaire and Gibbon is simply amazed. Their shafts are like random arrows fired by a blind man at a venture. It is a pure work of supererogation to take even precautions against them ; much less to be at the trouble of refuting them. The fact that Christianity has outlived so much—that the most violent storms which have traversed the Western world have passed away, leaving it only rooted more firmly in the common conscience of the nations, is at least a plain proof that up to this time it has been the strongest, deepest, and most enduring product of human thought—that it must meet and satisfy some of the most urgent aspirations of human nature. Nor is there anything that we can see, in the present day, to make us expect aught else in the future. On the contrary, it seems to us that there is among the leaders of Christian thought a confidence in the strength of their creed, an anxious desire to have recourse to no other weapons than those which appeal to the reason that has never before been characteristic, to the same extent, of theological controversy. It would take us beyond the limits of the present paper to point out, what appear to the writer, the weak points of the Religious Scepticism of the day. It is Protean in its character ; its shapes are innumerable ; and at each new embodiment, there is the same flourish of trumpets to announce that this time at least, the Christian hallucination is to be finally dissipated. Only the hallucination, somehow, continues to live on, and it is the scepticism which waxes thin, and finally gives up the ghost.*

Take Positivism for example. Only a few years ago, the present writer can remember that men spoke of it with bated

* Mr. Browning has an exquisite bit of satire on this peculiarity of Modern Scepticism in his last poem.

———Alack, Philosophy !

Despite the chop and change, diminished or increased,
 Patched up and plaster'd o'er, Religion stands at least
 I' the temple type. But thou ? Here gape I, all agog
 These thirty years, to learn how tadpole turns to frog ;
 And thrice at least have gazed with mild astonishment.
 As skyward up and up, some fire new fabric sent
 Its challenge to mankind that, clustered underneath—
 They hear the word, and strait believe, cry, in the teeth
 O'the Past, clap hands and hail triumphant Truth's outbreak—
 Tadpole-frog theory propounded past mistake !
 In vain ! A something ails the edifice, it bends,
 It bows, it buries. . . Haste ! cry " Heads below " to friends—
 But have no fear they find, when smoother shall subside
 Some substitution perk with unabated pride
 I' the predecessor's place !

Fifine at the Fair, p. 139.

breath as a new and terrible portent which had appeared upon the earth and which threatened to swallow up all dissentients, with as much ease and indifference as Hotspur killed his Scots before eating breakfast. Mr. Mill announced (Mr. Mill in those days, was regarded far more generally than now as the one infallible man on earth) that "M. Comte had" superabundantly shown the possibility of giving to the service of humanity, even without the aid of belief in a providence, both the psychological power and the social efficacy of a religion; making it take hold of human life and colour all thought, feeling and action, in a manner of which the greatest ascendancy ever exercised by our religion may be but a type and foretaste." (Utilitarianism, p. 48). The timorous quaked as they read this tremendous assertion, and few stopped to inquire how a new religion could be "superabundantly shown" to be capable of anything until it had actually done something. The Positivists in the meanwhile took the field, exactly as the Philistine giant of Gath against the children of Israel. "Come to us" they cried to the miserable believers in a God, "and we will give your flesh to the fowls of the air, and to the beasts of the field." And it must be confessed that the people of Israel, "when they saw them, fled from them and were sore afraid." Yet what is the position of Positivism now? It is a subject of almost universal derision. It stands like a detected scarecrow in the midst of a field, and the most timorous bird of all the flock would light upon it without fear or hesitation. The principle of *evolution* has just at present assumed the vacant seat from which Positivism has been thrust forth. According to this principle we are expected to believe that all the glories of art, poetry, and architecture, all imagination, love, fancy, wit, humour, irony, are only developed forms of rudimentary sensation in a marine ascidian who existed in an inconceivably remote past. No sooner was this astounding proposition put before the world than all the worshippers of "the unknown and unknowable God" raised their voices in an uproar of approval. Here at last was "the tadpole-frog theory propounded past mistake," and unbelievers of all kinds were summoned to give in their adhesion without delay. Now one of the main causes which has caused people to believe in the efficacy of "Modern Scepticism" is the extraordinary celerity with which religion strikes its flag and surrenders at discretion. In the present instance, hardly an attempt seems to have been made to see if there was any tenable ground for this hypothesis of evolution; but every one proceeded at once to build up theories of "Reconciliation" to show that men might still remain Christians, the marine ascidian notwithstanding. This, of course, was no difficult matter to show; the difficulty indeed, seems to us to trace a single point of contact,

Our origin from a marine ascidian cannot alter one single fact in the Histories of Greece or Rome, and quite as little in that of the Jews. The story of the Exodus, the writings of the Prophets, the life of Christ, the endurance of the Christian martyrs, would remain precisely the same, and precisely as significant as before. That "sense of the Unseen" which was the keystone of their existence was a present *fact*—an actual living experience,—and could no more be destroyed by their reputed origin from a marine ascidian, than any other fact or experience of consciousness. "Though animal sensation" to quote the words of Mr. Martineau, "with its connected instinct, should be the raw material of our whole mental history, it is not on that account entitled to *measure all that comes after it*, and stand as the boundary line between fact and dream, between *terra firma* and "airy nothing." That which is first in Time has no necessary priority of rank in the scale of truth and reality; and the later found may well be the greater existence and the more assured. If it is a development of faculty, and not of incapacity, which the theory provides, the process must advance us into new light, and not withdraw us from clearer light behind: and we have reason to confide in the freshest gleams and inmost visions of to-day, and to discard whatever quenches and confuses them in the vague and turbid beginnings of the past." All this is indubitable enough; that moral and spiritual world where religion has her home, constitutes a number of *facts* of consciousness which cannot be affected whether Dr. Darwin's theory is ultimately pronounced true or false. What we complain of is the inordinate deference which the world pays to any hypothesis which proceeds from a man who happens to be called "scientific." The despotism which these gentlemen are seeking to establish—their undisguised dislike for those who do not receive their dicta with unquestioning submission—is nothing less than Sacerdotalism seeking to establish its old and hateful tyranny under the cloak of a specious name. They are the modern priests of Isis, who wish to re-erect the ancient temples to an unknown God, with themselves as his self-constituted priests and interpreters. "Are you a scientific man?" If you confess that you are not, then "what right have you to an opinion on the subject at all?" is the retort. "Your business is simply to believe." And not a few people weakly succumb to this retort, and live in a wretched and confused condition, blown about by every wind of doctrine, but with a general impression that man is an impostor who has tried to pass himself off as a responsible being when he is really nothing but a cunningly contrived piece of clock-work. All this is utterly uncalled for. A scientific man knows certain facts which unscientific men do not, but that is all. He is not preserved thereby

from errors in logic, from generalising on an imperfect induction, from drawing hasty conclusions. Here, indeed, an outsider, with no particular bias in any particular direction, might, not improbably, judge more correctly than the scientific man himself. It does not require a man of science to see that a book like Darwin's "Descent of Man," which is purely hypothetical throughout, which absolutely overflows with unverified stories from books of travels, and the most arbitrary assumptions to fill up gaps in the chain of reasoning cannot *prove* anything—cannot be accepted even as a scientific work at all. The very most that can be said for Dr. Darwin's theory is that it is not utterly inconceivable that an elephant *compelled* to run infinitely might, in the course of uncounted ages, come to have the attributes of a stag. But it is utterly absurd to suppose that the existence of religious faith is placed in peril by the fact of such an hypothesis being cast into the world. We must have proofs more relative than this. And even, if we assume its truth, in what way can it be said to conflict with the idea of God or the revelation of Christ? We can see none. Religion and science, it seems to us, can never come into conflict, except upon one point. Religion must insist upon *the supremacy of mind*. Let this be granted, and, in the beautiful language of the Christian philosopher we have already quoted more than once, "it matters not by what path of method the Divine Thought advances, or how long it is upon the road. Whether it flashes into realization, like lightning out of night; or fabricates, like a Demiurge, through a producing season, and then beholds the perfect work; or is for ever thinking into life the thoughts of beauty and the love of good; whether it calls its materials out of nothing, or finds them ready and disposes of them from without; or throws them around as its own manifestation, and from within shapes its own purposes into blossom—makes no difference that can be fatal to human piety. Time counts for nothing with the Eternal; and though it should appear that the system of the world and the ranks of being arose, not by start of crystallization, but like the grass or the forest, by silent and seasonal gradations, as true a worship may be paid to the Indwelling God, who makes matter itself transparent with spiritual meanings, and breathes before us in the pulses of nature, and appeals to us in the sorrows of men, as to the pre-existing Deity who, from an infinite loneliness suddenly became the Maker of all."*

R.D.O.

* Martineau, "The Place of Mind in Nature and Intuition in Man."

P.S.—Since this essay was written, a profound and beautiful essay, entitled "Is God unknowable?" and written by Father Dalgairus, has appeared in the *Contemporary Review*, October 1872. It discusses in detail many important points, which in the above essay, want of space has permitted us only to touch upon. We commend it to the attention of the thoughtful reader.

ART. VI.—INDEPENDENT SECTION.
OUR COMMERCIAL EXPLOITATION OF THE INDIAN
POPULATIONS.

(II.)—ITS DYNAMICS.

It is by a policy of exploitation that the Carthaginians manage to stave off the dangers inseparable from the government of an oligarchy, for with this view, they are always drafting off a portion of their population to foreign dependencies. But this is merely the casual advantage of their exceptional position. For if any mishap befall, and the proletariat rise against the upper classes, then the organisation of society possesses no longer any security for order.

The Politics, ii., 11 (15) ARISTOTLE.

If the people of Britain are to be preserved from the evils of a democratic revolution, then it behoves their upper classes to set about regenerating not only their policy at home [as already described] but also their policy abroad.

In the first place it behoves them to extinguish what there remains of a disposition towards oppressing other members of the Western system, and notably to put an end to the wrongful anomaly of keeping a town of Andalusia in subjection to England, But above all it is in respect to populations not within the political system of the West that the supremacy of Britain has to be transformed; for certain exceptional benefits which it confers do not obviate in any wise a feeling of general oppressiveness even in cases the most favourable. Apart from the fact that it is high time for peoples as for individuals to have done with exalting mere material interests, these very interests when purified, by being reduced to their proper subordination, have no need whatever for a political domination which is necessarily corrupting and tends to perpetuate warfare in the name of industry.

The Politics, iv., 5 (493.) COMTE.

FROM the statical or the order view of Indian commerce, I proceed now to the dynamical or progress view according to the historical evolution of the export and import trade of the country.

It will be not less necessary for the dynamics than it has been for the statics of the subject to, first of all, convey a clear idea of the influence of the English Government upon Indian commerce, and so to resolve the most important factor in the problem which is to be solved.

The influence of the English Government of India upon Indian Commerce has been exerted in three successive forms which mark three distinct epochs in the commercial history of India. These three periods may be named as follow according to the respective forms under which the English tribute has been levied; first, the period of the political remittance by *up-country investments*; second, the period of the political remittance by *bills of hypothecation*; third, the period of political remittance by *London drawings upon India*. I proceed to describe these.

The first of the three *régimes*, that of the UP-COUNTRY INVESTMENTS, could not be described more clearly than it is in the following extracts from that Parliamentary Blue Book written by Burke in 1783, which is known as his Ninth Report,* and which formed the basis of the legislative and administrative changes introduced in consequence of its exposures. I italicise a few of the passages which continue instructive even at the present day.

CONNECTION OF GREAT BRITAIN WITH INDIA.

IN order to open more fully the tendency of the policy which has hitherto prevailed, and that the House may be enabled in any regulations which may be made, to follow the tracks of the abuse, and to apply an appropriate remedy to a particular distemper, your committee think it expedient to consider, in some detail, the manner in which India is connected with this kingdom: which is the second head of their plan.

The two great links, by which this connection is maintained, are, first, the East India Company's commerce; and next, the government set over the natives by that Company, and by the Crown. The first of these principles of connection, namely, *the East India Company's trade*, is to be first considered, not only as it operates by itself, but *as having a powerful influence over the general policy and the particular measures of the Company's government*. Your committee apprehend that the present state, nature, and tendency of this trade, are not generally understood.

Until the acquisition of great territorial revenues by the East India Company, the trade with India was carried on upon the common principles of commerce, namely, by sending out such commodities as found a demand in the India market, and, where that demand was not adequate to the reciprocal call of the European market for Indian goods, by a large annual exportation of treasure, chiefly in silver. In some years that export has been as high as six hundred and eighty thousand pounds sterling. The other European Companies trading to India traded thither on the same footing, their export of bullion was probably larger in proportion to the total of their commerce; *as their commerce itself bore a much larger proportion to the British than it does at this time, or has done for many years past*. But stating it to be equal to the British, the whole of the silver sent annually from Europe into Hindostan could not fall very short of twelve or thirteen hundred thousand pounds a year. This influx of money, poured into India by an emulation of all the commercial nations of Europe, encouraged industry, and promoted cultivation in a high degree, notwithstanding the frequent wars with

* On another occasion I shall expose the foolishness of an assertion to which some pretentious optimists are now trying to give currency, that Burke had little acquaintance with Indian affairs.

which that country was harassed, and the vices which existed in its internal government. On the other hand, the export of so much silver was sometimes a subject of grudging and uneasiness in Europe; and a commerce, carried on through such a medium, to many appeared a speculation of doubtful advantage. But the practical demands of commerce bore down those speculative objections.

The East India commodities were so essential for animating all other branches of trade, and for completing the commercial circle, that all nations contended for it with the greatest avidity. The English Company flourished under this exportation for a very long series of years. The nation was considerably benefited both in trade and in revenue; and the dividends of the proprietors were often high, and always sufficient to keep up the credit of the Company's stock in heart and vigour.

But at, or very soon after, *the acquisition of the territorial revenues* to the English Company, the period of which may be reckoned as completed about the year 1765,

How trade carried on since.

a very great revolution took place in commerce as well as in dominion; and it was a revolution which affected the trade of Hindostan with all other European nations, as well as with that in whose favour and by whose power it was accomplished. From that time bullion was no longer regularly exported by the English East India Company to Bengal, or any part of Hindostan; and it was soon exported in much smaller quantities by any other nation. A new way of supplying the market of Europe, by means of the British power and influence, was invented; *a species of trade (if such it may be called), by which it is absolutely impossible that India should not be radically and irretrievably ruined*, although our possessions there were to be ordered and governed upon principles diametrically opposite to those which now prevail in the system and practice of the British Company's administration.

A certain portion of the revenues of Bengal has been, for many years, set apart to be employed in the purchase of goods for exportation to England, and this is called the INVESTMENT. The greatness of this Investment has been the standard by which the merit of the Company's principal servants has been too generally estimated; and this main cause of the impoverishment of India has been generally taken as a measure of its wealth and prosperity. *Numerous fleets of large ships, loaded with the most valuable commodities of the East, annually arriving in England, in a constant and increasing succession, imposed upon the public eye, and naturally gave rise to an opinion of the happy condition and growing opulence of a country, whose surplus productions occupied so vast a space in the commercial world.* This export from India seemed to imply also a reciprocal supply, by which the trading capital employed in those productions was continually strengthened and enlarged. *But the payment of a tribute, and not a beneficial commerce to that country, wore this specious and delusive appearance.*

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The practice of an investment from the revenue began in the year 1776, before arrangements were made for securing and appropriating an assured fund for that purpose in the treasury, and for diffusing it from thence upon the manufactures of the country in a just proportion, and in the proper season. There was, indeed, for a short time, a surplus of cash in the treasury. It was in some shape to be sent home to its owners. To send it out in silver was subject to two manifest inconveniences.—First, the country would be exhausted of its circulating medium.

* * * * *

A country so exhausted of its coin, and harassed by three revolutions rapidly succeeding each other, was rather an object that stood in need of every kind of refreshment and recruit, than one which could subsist under new evacuations. The next, and equally obvious, inconvenience was to the Company itself. To send silver into Europe would be to send it from the best to the worst market. When arrived, the most profitable use which could be made of it, would be to send it back to Bengal for the purchase of Indian merchandise. It was necessary, therefore, to turn the Company's territorial revenue into its commerce. The first investment was about five hundred thousand pounds, and care was taken afterwards to enlarge it. In the years 1767 and 1768, it arose to seven hundred thousand.

This new system of trade, carried on through the medium of power and public revenue, very soon produced its natural effects. The loudest complaints arose among the natives, and among all the foreigners who traded to Bengal. *It must unquestionably have thrown the whole mercantile system of the country into the greatest confusion.* With regard to the natives, no expedient was proposed for their relief. The case was serious with respect to European powers. The presidency plainly represented to the directors, that some agreement should be made with foreign nations for providing their investment to a certain amount, or that the deficiencies then subsisting must terminate in an open rupture with France. The directors, pressed by the large payments in England, were not free to abandon their system; and all possible means of diverting the manufactures into the Company's investment were still anxiously sought and pursued, until the difficulties of the foreign companies were at length removed by the natural flow of the fortunes of the Company's servants into Europe in the manner which will be stated hereafter.*

But, with all these endeavours of the presidency, the investment sunk in 1769, and they were even obliged to pay for a part of the goods to private merchants in the Company's bonds, bearing interest. It was

* [Burke describes in the sequel took to bank for the English Company's own officials and the means by which these foreign Companies procured silver where- to convey their private remittances with to obtain country produce from India to Europe.] and manufactures. They under-

plain that this course of business could not hold. The manufacturers of Bengal, far from being generally in a condition to give credit, have always required advances to be made to them; so have the merchants very generally; at least, since the prevalence of the English power in India. It was necessary, therefore, and so the presidency of Calcutta represented the matter, to provide beforehand a year's advance. This required great efforts; and they were made. Notwithstanding the famine in 1770, which wasted Bengal in a manner dreadful beyond all example, the investment, by a variety of successive expedients, many of them of the most dangerous nature and tendency, was forcibly kept up; and even in that forced and unnatural state it gathered strength almost every year. The debts contracted in the infancy of the system were gradually reduced; and the advances to contractors and manufacturers were regularly made; so that the goods from Bengal purchased from the territorial revenues, from the sale of European goods, and from the produce of the monopolies, for the four years which ended with 1780 (when the investment from the surplus revenues finally closed), were never less than a million sterling, and commonly nearer twelve hundred thousand pounds. This million is the lowest value of the goods sent to Europe, for which no satisfaction is made.*

The goods, which are exported from Europe to India, consist chiefly of military and naval stores, of clothing for troops, and of other objects for the consumption of the Europeans residing there; and excepting some lead, copper utensils, and sheet copper, woollen cloth, and other commodities of little comparative value, no sort of merchandise is sent from England, that is in demand for the wants or desires of the native inhabitants.

When an account is taken of *the intercourse (for it is not commerce)* which is carried on between Bengal and England, the pernicious effects of the system of investment from revenue will appear in the strongest point of view. *In that view, the whole exported produce of the country (so far as the Company is concerned) is not exchanged in the course of barter; but is taken away without any return or payment whatsoever.* In a commercial light, therefore, England becomes annually bankrupt to Bengal to the amount nearly of its own dealing; or rather, the country (Bengal) has suffered what is tantamount to an annual plunder of its manufactures and its produce, to the value of twelve hundred thousand pounds.

In time of peace, three foreign companies appear at first sight to bring their contribution of trade to the supply of this continual drain. These are the companies of France, Holland, and Denmark. But when the object is considered more nearly, instead of relief, these companies, who from

* The sale, to the amount of about Britain, ought to be deducted from one hundred thousand pounds annually, of the export from Great this million.

their want of authority in the country might seem to trade upon a principle merely commercial, will be found to add their full propor-

Consequences of their trade. tion to the calamity brought upon Bengal by the destructive system of the ruling power; because

the greater part of the capital of all these companies, and perhaps the whole capital of some of them, is furnished exactly as the British is, out of the revenues of the country. The civil and military servants of the English East India Company being restricted in drawing bills upon Europe, and none of them ever making or proposing an establishment in India, a very great part of their fortunes, well or ill-gotten, is in all probability thrown as fast as acquired into the cash of these Companies.

In all other countries the revenue, following the natural course and order of things, arises out of their commerce. Here, by a mischievous inversion of that order, the whole foreign maritime trade, whether English, French, Dutch, or Danish, arises from the revenues; and these are carried out of the country, without producing anything to compensate so heavy a loss.

But that the greatness of all these drains, and their effects, may be rendered more visible, your committee have turned their consideration to the employment of those parts of the Bengal revenue which are not employed in the Company's own investments for China and for Europe. What is taken over and above the investment (when an investment can be made) from the gross revenue, either for the charge of collection, or for civil and military establishments, is in time of peace two millions at the least. From the portion of that sum which goes to the support of civil government, the natives are almost wholly excluded, as they are from the principal collections of revenue. *With very few exceptions, they are only employed as servants and agents to Europeans, or in the inferior departments of collection, when it is absolutely impossible to proceed a step without their assistance.*

The other resource of the Mahomedans, and of the Gentoos* of certain of the higher castes, was in the army. In this army, nine-tenths of which consist of natives, no native, of whatever description, holds any rank higher than that of a *Subadar Commandant*, that is, of an officer below the rank of an English subaltern, who is appointed to each company of the native soldiery.

Your committee here would be understood to state the ordinary establishment, for the war may have made some alteration: all the honourable, all the lucrative, situations of the army, all supplies and contracts, of whatever species, that belong to it, are solely in the hands of the English; so that whatever is beyond the mere

* Gentoos, i.e., Gentiles = Hindoos, dans. Both names are Portuguese. as Moors, i.e., Mauritanians = Mahome.

subsistence of a common soldier, and some officers of a lower rank together with the immediate expenses of the English officers at their table, *is sooner or later, in one shape or another, sent out of the country.*

Such was the state of Bengal even in time of profound peace, and before the whole weight of the public charge fell upon that unhappy country for the support of other parts of India, which had been desolated in such a manner as to contribute little or nothing to their own protection.

Your committee have given this short comparative account of effects of the maritime traffic of Bengal when in its former state of natural state, and as it has stood since the prevalence of the system of investment from the revenues. *But before the formation of that system, Bengal did by no means depend for its resources on its maritime commerce.* The inland trade, from whence it derived a very great supply of silver and gold, and many kinds of merchantable goods, was very considerable.—The higher provinces of the Mogul Empire were then populous and opulent, and intercourse to an immense amount was carried on between them and Bengal. A great trade also passed through these provinces from all the countries on the frontier of Persia and the frontier provinces of Tartary, as well as from Surat and Baroach on the western side of India. These parts opened to Bengal a communication with the Persian Gulf, and with the Red Sea, and through them with the whole Turkish and the maritime parts of the Persian Empire, besides the commercial intercourse which it maintained with those and many other countries through its own seaports.

III.—EFFECTS OF THE REVENUE INVESTMENT OF THE COMPANY.

Hitherto, your committee has considered this system of revenue investment substituted in the place of a commercial link between India and Europe, so far as it affects India only: they are now to consider it as it affects the Company (itself). So long as that corporation continued to receive a vast quantity of merchantable goods without any disbursement for the purchase, so long it possessed wherewithal to continue a dividend to pay debts and to contribute to the (British) State. But it must have been always evident to considerate persons, that this vast extraction of wealth from a country lessening in its resources in proportion to the increase of its burthens, was not calculated for a very long duration. For a while the Company's servants kept up this investment, not by improving commerce, manufactures or agriculture, but by forcibly raising the land-rents on the principles and in the manner hereafter to be described. When these extortions disappointed or threatened to disappoint expectation, in order to purvey for the avarice which raged in England, they sought for expedients in breaches of all the agreements, by which they were bound by any payment to the country powers, and in exciting disturbances, among all the neighbouring princes. Stimulating their ambition, and fomenting their mutual animosities, they sold them to their common servitude and ruin.

Such, then, was the first of the three *régimes* of Anglo-Indian commerce, that when the up-country Investment was the medium for the remittance of the Indian tribute exacted by England. I make no apology for the extent of my extracts, so instructive are they on the present depression of Indian trade.

I pass now from the first to the second or intermediate *régime*, that of the remittance of the tribute by **BILLS OF HYPOTHECATION** or documentary bills drawn at the Presidency towns.

In the year 1813, under a new Charter, the East India Company's monopoly was continued absolutely as regarded China, but within India was reduced to certain important staples such as salt and opium. After 1813 the Company ceased to have the exclusive monopoly of forestalling and regrating in other staples than those important reservations to which I have alluded. The exclusive monopoly as regards China was withdrawn twenty years later, in 1833. After the year 1813, the Company effected its remittances partly by Indian goods transmitted to China, there to be exchanged for Chinese commodities destined for London,—partly also by bills on Indian goods exported direct from India to England. So far as concerned the Indo-Chinese trade with England, the first *régime* of the up-country Investment continued in full force as before. So far as concerned the Indian trade direct with England, the change constituting the Hypothecation *régime* was as follows. The Hon'ble Company no longer made from their own Indian Exchequer direct payment of silver, the proceeds of taxation, to bazaar brokers in exchange for such Indian staples of export as would command sale and yield funds in London. The old truck system was indeed substantially continued, but it was veiled over by a specious disguise which gave complete satisfaction to the English *bourgeoisie* whose political influence was now in the ascendant. For, instead of dealing direct with the bazaar brokers, the Hon'ble Company called in or promoted a set of intermediaries and so became separated by a set of middlemen from the native wholesale merchants of the town warehouses and from the native retail chandlers of the village booths. These new intermediaries were foreign merchants, chiefly English, settled for the most part at the three Presidency towns. To them the Hon'ble Company (for the Government with an accurate instinct still retained its old commercial designation), performed the indispensable function of exchange banking. The function was indispensable not less to the merchants than to the Government, so deficient was the country in indigenous capital. Accordingly the Government selected certain leading staples of export, some seven in number, which were always sure of commanding a sale in London. Upon consignments of these staples destined for London, the Government would make advances generally to about three-fifths of the

value of the goods as estimated by an officer of the Company's Civil Service, and in exchange for the advances the Government would receive Bills of Hypothecation upon the goods until disposed of in London. In other words an English merchant at Calcutta in shipping and consigning, say a cargo of rice, to his correspondent in London, would draw on that correspondent to the value of the cargo, and by that means he would place himself at once in funds for a farther consignment, say of indigo, by going to the Treasury, making over or *hypothecating* his shipping document, and so obtaining an immediate advance of two-thirds of the value. He would endorse his bill of lading to the Court of Directors, and make it over to the Hon'ble Company here as their collateral security. When the cargo was disposed of in London, the Court of Directors recovered the amount of their Calcutta advance. Whatever price the cargo fetched over and above the two-thirds advance, remained, of course, with the London consignee on behalf of the Calcutta consignor. But if through any sudden fall in the market the consignment failed to realise the amount of the Calcutta advance, then the Court of Directors, acting on the preferential claim of the hypothecation, would enforce the shortcoming, if necessary by law, from the London consignee, or failing him from the Calcutta consignor. It was by the proceeds of such bills that the Court of Directors placed themselves in funds at London for their English disbursements. If the Directors were pressed for money, they could send round to Lombard-street and discount their bills of hypothecation before maturity.

When this process of hypothecation proved at any time extremely disadvantageous to the Company, they could fall back on the silver proceeds of their taxation, and remit treasure itself from their Indian treasuries to Leadenhall-street. But this expedient was not resorted to except in extremities, for it was certain to be attended with evil consequences, such as have already been described in the preceding extracts from Burke, and will again be reverted to in a later portion of this treatise.

This system of procuring the hypothecation of Indian export staples in order to effect the political remittance from India to London, led and could not but lead to much recrimination both in India and in London. Such recrimination ending, as it often did in litigation at Westminster Hall between a powerful Company of public tax-gatherers and a keen-witted firm of private merchants, could not but disclose the commercial servitude that really underlay what purported to be free trade in India. In Calcutta a merchant A, would complain that another, a rival merchant B, had obtained undue favour from the Treasury Officer in the valuation of his goods at the Company's warehouse as to quality or even as to quantity. The merchants, A, B, and C,

would complain that they, being real capitalists and people of substance, had been prejudiced as to their rights of business, in so far as D, E, and F, mere speculators and creatures of straw, according to A, &c., had been allowed to obtain advances or discounts out of "public money." Then D, E, and F, would rejoin with no less bitter invective against the Company's Factor for damage to their monetary credit through the disclosure of their private affairs by the carelessness of the Factor or by the complicity of his office *employés*. The settling of such huckster bickerings as these formed no unimportant portion of that which official annalists writing what they are pleased to call histories, choose to dignify by the name of the Company's administration of Indian affairs. We have recently seen some indications of the squabbling that would arise under the system of political remittance by hypothecation of Indian goods effected in India, when some finance-mongering officials operating through the Bank of Bengal actually thought to revert from the third or the present to the second or transitional method of placing the quarterly Indian tribute in London.

Again, A, B, and C, would form themselves into a ring with the view of crushing out the competitors D, E, and F; and either set leagued *ad hoc* would bid up the price for the particular Indian staple of which a monopoly was desired in view, perhaps, of an expected advance in the London market. On the other hand, the Company's demand for hypothecation bills was uncertain; for it would vary according to their varying needs in Leadenhall-street, according as their funds were in plethora from recent loan or in depletion after heavy expenditure. Accordingly, if at such a period trade in India was brisk, the Company's financiers in India would be chidden by private merchants for not being more liberal with advances for the development of *business*. If trade was dull and re-drafts were coming back from English consignees in England to English consignors in India, then the Company's Factors would be blamed by these very same people for having previously inflated *business*.

But notwithstanding all the exertions of the Company their London charges were always so heavy as to exceed the proceeds either of the earlier investments or of the later hypothecations, and as time went on the chronic deficit became greater and greater. The most obvious resource would have been to order home the silver bodily out of the Indian Treasuries, but the Court of Directors had learnt by painful experience how fatally and speedily the disastrous consequences of such a proceeding would return upon its authors. As it was, they frequently brought trade to such a pass that the hypothecated commodities could not be sold in London without loss to all concerned,—a loss which necessarily

impaired the means of providing the succeeding year's remittance from India. Pressing as their liabilities were with their regularly recurring deficits, the Directors often felt it absolutely necessary to allow India a temporary relief from the drain which was exhausting her resources. The children of Mammon were not unwise in their generation. The mercantile Court of Directors in the City and the ministerial Board of Control in Westminster, however they might differ as to the method of exploiting India, were in unison on the question of degree in so far as not to press Indian tax-payers to utter despair. Both were alive to the danger lest a political rising in India might be followed by a social explosion at home in which the moneyed and the official classes would be alike hurled out of wealth and power in England. Any arrangement for putting off the evil day was to be preferred to the risk of a crisis like that. Hence arose the system of *open loans*.

From time to time, according to the degree of need, plausible stories, of which there was always an ample supply ready to hand out in Indian stations, were put forth with official sanction, and loan after loan was floated with more or less success.

The very pretexts for these loans underwent a series of modifications according as decade after decade of failure came to throw discredit on the old pretences and disclose the necessity of new devices. In the earliest years each deficit was invariably declared to have been incurred unavoidably in order to defeat the evil machinations of this *Nawab* or that *Rajah*. Gradually, however, it dawned on people at home that, as Burke said, "there was not "a potentate throughout India that had come in contact with "the Company whom the Company had not sold; not a treaty "that the Company had ever made which they had not broken; "not a Prince that had put his trust in the Company, who had "not been utterly ruined."

Accordingly the later pretext that was brought into fashion as an excuse for recurring deficits was the programme of lapses and annexations which were ever being evolved with great fertility among a set of officials out in India eager then, as now, for pay and promotion. But this programme also, after bringing forth much sin and misery, had at last to be abandoned in the face of the fiercer and fiercer wrath with which a Burke, a Cobden or a Bright demanded condign punishments for the official criminals. A new set of tactics became necessary. As the pretence of extending the beneficial influence of British justice fell into discredit, and no longer served to justify the everlasting loans, a new pretext was evolved in its place,—that of extending the beneficial influence of British capital. The projects of annexing new territory made way for the projects of fertilising old; and as to advantageousness

and security, the later projects surpassed the former in the extent to which they could be made to gratify certain official circles in India with place and promotion, and certain moneyed classes in England with brokerage and patronage, all under the guise of enriching everybody concerned throughout India and England. Those official romances about the reproductiveness of public works in India which form the present pretext for Indian loans, are the last act of a long drama which is even now being played out before our eyes. These pretexts are destined to meet with an earlier and deeper discredit than their predecessors, and there will then remain no new device for further deferring the political crisis in India and the social crisis at home.

We have considered the two first epochs of the commercial servitude of India ; first, that of the UP-COUNTRY INVESTMENT ; second, that of THE BILLS OF HYPOTHECATION. We come now to the third and last epoch, the present one, that of THE LONDON DRAWINGS UPON INDIAN TREASURIES. It is not necessary for me to describe here this third method of providing the political remittance ; for under the Statics of the subject, I have fully set forth the nature and the action of the Secretary of State's drawings. It will be enough if I complete the dynamical view of the three systems by noticing briefly the nature of the transition from the one *régime* to the other. The third system gradually arose out of the second, as the second had arisen out of the first, by a natural process or evolution, namely, the progress of the Company's indebtedness. It was the necessity of supplementing bills of hypothecation at home by borrowing in London upon assignment of taxes in India that gave rise to the present systematic London drawings upon Indian treasuries. It was about the time of the Punjab war, towards the close of the career of annexations, that this third method became fully developed. The difference of practice introduced has been substantially little. For the old system of remittance by hypothecation was this, that the English Government of India formerly bought out here orders for gold in London by selling in India silver, the proceeds of Indian taxation. The present system of London drawings is this, that now the English Government of India buys gold in London by selling in London orders for silver in India, also the proceeds of Indian taxation.

Thus, then, under the first Investment *régime*, the scene of the drawings was the marts up the country in India ; under the second hypothecation *régime* the scene changed to the three seaport capitals of the presidencies ; and under the last *régime* the scene shifted to London. Gradually as the earlier *régime* passed into the later, a new set of middlemen was interposed between the London Government as tribute-taker and the Indian peasant as tribute-yielder. Step by step the Government receded from its

people, like a spendthrift mortgagor receding from his estate. The connection of England with India has thus become more and more exacting as regards India, and more and more dangerous as regards England. In India the Government—which being interpreted means that English plutocracy for whom the country has been exploited,—has through these changes lost in familiarity and sympathy with the native population; but in England the Government has, through the same process, gained by a closer hold upon the English people, by a firmer grafting upon English vitals, and by a more incisive claim upon the assets of the British exchequer, and upon the services of the British army.

In this way a polity which in its origin had been flagrantly immoral, has been making the fatal and inexorable decline from bad to worse. With each successive postponement of solution, this Indian problem of ours (like a debt increasing at usury by each extension of usance) has been growing in intensity and in complexity. In India the people have become more and more impoverished, society more and more disintegrated, and reorganisation more and more hopeless. In England there are looming ahead at no great distance the most serious troubles, social and political, in connection with industries which have been reared or stimulated on the artificial and precarious basis of this commercial servitude of India. Already at the eleventh hour some Lancashire capitalists are beginning to betray uneasiness over all this reckless forcing of a textile industry in England, in the blind assurance that the Indies are to serve as a vent for unlimited exports of piece-goods.

In the very status accorded to the successive Indian loans in England, there has been a certain gradation corresponding to the deeper impress of the Indian connection on the English polity. At first the British Legislature conceded to the Company's loans nothing more than a permissive, and somewhat grudging, sanction; in later times it invested them with considerable statutory privilege; and finally, in our own time, it has arrayed them with the very amplest political prerogative, until at last Indian Government securities and guaranteed Indian Railway stock have attained their present portentous proportions. When one compares the old East India Company with the modern guaranteed companies in regard to the several amounts of their capital and the respective nature of their business, one realises that the old policy of the up-country Investment continues on a grander scale, and that the puny old monopolist corporation has been displaced only to make room for other and vaster Companies of Merchant Adventurers trading to the East Indies.

*A loftier Argo cleaves the main,
Fraught with a later prize.*

The only difference is that what was on the part of the English

Legislature only tacit permission to the old corporations (so loose was the bond of union with the English people), has now, by the indemnification pledged with rash solemnity to investing trustees, become stringent and overt prerogative, in the more close, more avowed, and therefore more dangerous union which now obtains.

The past, its mask of union on
Had ceased to live and thrive ;
The past, its mask of union gone,
Say, Is it more alive ?

It is not a hundred years since Indian deficit and the effort of the English Government to relieve the East India Company's embarrassment, and to secure its own endorsement of the Company's liabilities by means of American tea duties, brought upon the English people a shameful dismemberment from their fellow-countrymen abroad, and a long reaction of patrician and plutocratic tyranny at home. Are the later and the greater Companies of Merchant Adventurers now trading to the East Indies destined to plunge the English people into another and a blacker shame, into another and direr disaster by a repetition of similar crimes on behalf of Indian guaranteed dividends ? It will need a more prudent, a more vigorous, and more honest statesmanship than that of Mr. Disraeli bragging about England as henceforth an Asiatic more than a European power, or that of Mr. Gladstone vapouring about England happy across the silver streak, if the present generation of their countrymen are to be saved from the extremities of suffering during the impending catastrophe. If it were only Indian rentiers in England, and English officials in India that were endangered by all this chronic disorder of Indian finance and all this recurring cookery of Indian budgets, one would have less reason for anxiety, for there are many of these who can well look after themselves. But there are other people concerned in these failures and poltrooneries, people more helpless than the most desolate widow or orphan throughout England, whose scanty livelihood is being put to jeopardy by investment in an Indian security. In India under all this exploitation are millions of natives doomed to pine on in misery, are other hundreds of thousands destined to hunger to death :—

Till when their latest hope is fled, we taste of their despair,
And learn to feel in some wild hour how much the wretched dare !

At home there will certainly be no Englishman so remote, no English industry so obscure as not to share in the suffering which will follow upon the approaching collapse of our Indian credit. In France at this moment, is it the Napoleonic bureaucrats and stockjobbers alone,—is it the Napoleonic bureaucrats and stockjobbers at all that are bearing the smart for the imperial misconduct ?

Exports and Imports increased,——how. 153

Having under the Statics examined the intrinsic nature, and under the Dynamics the successive modes of the action of the English Government as being the predominant force guiding Indian commerce, I proceed now to inquire into the progress of the export and the import trade of India. It will readily be understood that tabular statements available for a comparative view cannot be procured farther back than 1833, the year when the monopoly of the China trade was abolished.

Quinquennial period.	From the year— to the year—	Export trade (both merchandise and treasure); annual average thereof during the period.	Import trade (both merchandise and trea- sure); annual average thereof during the pe- riod.
1	1834-35 to 1838-39	£ 11,322,599	£ 7,315,953
2	1839-40 to 1843-44	14,252,561	10,453,593
3	1844-45 to 1848-49	16,995,548	12,209,375
4	1849-50 to 1853-54	20,017,125	15,851,339
5	1854-55 to 1858-59	5,847,471	26,852,542
6	1859-60 to 1863-64	43,169,286	41,062,967
7	1864-65 to 1868-69	57,664,702	49,314,735

Over these figured triumphs our optimist politicians find it impossible to exhaust their phraseology of commendation. The influences to which chiefly they ascribe all these "blessings" of India are these two: (1), the beneficence of English Government, and (2), the ascendancy of English Free Trade.

In such arguments as these, our Indian politicians, like their favourite oracles of reference the Political Economists, invariably assume that the natives engaged in all these exports and imports are myriads of independent, individual units buying and selling with practically absolute spontaneity and with no noteworthy pressure, social or political, acting upon the entirety of the atoms as a mass. It never occurs to these people to inquire as regards India why the natives with all this freedom of action should have devoted so much of their commerce to the English rather than to any other shores. It never occurs to these people to inquire, as regards England, why in each successive generation she should be leaning more and more upon Indian trade; why in each suc-

cessive generation Indian business should be forming a more and more important* portion of England's external commerce.

What is the actual condition of affairs which these figured advances of exportation and importation do really denote?

(1st).—As regards the figures of imports, much of the chronological increase represents not additional earnings acquired by India, but additional burdens imposed upon India, such as State debt and Railway mortgage.

(2nd).—As regards the figures of exports, much of the chronological increase represents not surplus earnings sent into the world's market at the discretion of the producers, but compulsory exports destined to discharge the increasing annual interest upon State debt and upon unremunerative Railway mortgage, which are held in England by English creditors upon India.

I have already under the Statics described the action of these two influences. The figured progress, so far as it is due to these is a measure not of the prosperity but of the adversity of India,—a measure not of blessings but of curses upon the native populations.

(3rd).—As regards the figures both of exports and imports, much of the chronological increase represents not an advance in

* A business more and more important rather in character than in amount, inasmuch as the Indian commerce supplies staples for farther trade from England with other countries than India. On the other hand, the Indian business is not the most profitable, still less the most stable, of England's foreign trades. In this respect the commerce with France and with other neighbouring countries is far more lucrative than that of the Indies. Mr. Göschel, in his excellent treatise on the foreign exchange, has well contrasted the East Indian trade and its bills of sometimes as much singly as £10,000 with those numerous petty drafts which make up a continental parcel of remittances to a similar amount, *e.g.*, bills against cattle, against eggs, against butter; drafts of travelling Englishmen on their London bankers; bills against German toys; bills against French nicknacks, wine, fruit and vegetables. If the continental transactions are far more petty and retail-like than the wholesale cargo orders of the Indian trade, the for-

mer for that same reason admit of being the more rigidly economised and therefore they are in reality the more lucrative. And farther they are the more safe. Even in the recent tremendous destruction of French capital, there has been no such spectacle as that which our exchange banks have presented of stupefaction over the failure of the Gledstones which has occurred in a period of profound peace, and according to Mr. Grant Duff of general prosperity in India. A similar observation applies to our China trade. In a despatch of the London Board of Trade signed by Sir Louis Mallet at page 354 of the Tientsin Treaty Blue book (1871) there will be found some suggestive misgivings as to whether our China trade has not on the whole been rather a loss than a profit to the English people. If Sir Louis Mallet will apply the same sagacity to the India trade, both England and India will have reason to be congratulated on his recent appointment as commercial member of the Indian Council in London.

natives' prosperity, but merely re-states the fact that English dominion and English taxation have been by annexations extended in range over a wider area than before. In thus far the increase of the export and import trade represents likewise a heavier calamity inflicted, not a higher benefit conferred upon the native populations concerned.

It was the custom for those Native Governments, formerly resident within India, which have unfortunately been displaced by us, to collect much of their revenues in kind, and pay much of that revenue to *employés*, almost all of whom consumed this produce of the country within the country itself. Under such a state of things Indian kingdoms enjoyed ample substance of prosperity and rivalled the world in their temples and mosques, and yet they presented but little show of exports and imports. The English Government of aliens and absentees, domiciled elsewhere than in India, collects all its revenues in coin, pays all and more than that revenue in coin to *employés*, many of whom consume—cannot help consuming—much of the country's produce outside of the country. Accordingly, this empire of ours now surpasses the world in its barracks, its jails, and cantonments, and it exhibits amplest semblance of prosperity in so far as it presents a prodigious show of exports and imports.

(4th).—As regards the figures, both of exports and imports, much of the chronological increase represents English taxation increased in rate, both on the older and on the later acquisitions of territory, and in so far it likewise denotes not the advancing prosperity, but the advancing adversity of the native populations.

No one who will take the trouble of scrutinising the schedules of Indian exportation and importation in their historical sequence, will fail to perceive how each annexation of territory tells upon the trade and navigation returns of the immediately succeeding years. In fact, this is a process which forms a stock subject of official boasting in our Administration Reports.

No one who will take the trouble of collating the successive rates of exchange at Calcutta and London, can fail to observe how powerfully each new borrowing of the Government affects Indian exports and imports; first, during the ecstasy of squandering the capital, and afterwards in the relapse of wringing out the interest charge.

Therefore they either err unfortunately, or else they deceive wantonly, who would persuade people that the tabular statements of increased exports and imports denote a proportionate increase of Indian wealth. Is the reasoning disputed? There is no lack of decisive tests for a verification. For during these many years the Minister of Indian Finance has been doing little else than projecting so-called reproductive works with the one hand, and devising new taxes with the other. He has been confounded

by the everlasting succession of deficit upon deficit, and as for taxation, *Le peuple est taillable et corvéable à merci et miséricorde*. Accordingly, there has been little scruple or mercy in adding to the customs taxation, as we shall presently see when we come to review the several staples of foreign merchandise. Well then, has there been any chronological increase in the yield of customs duties corresponding to the advance in the figures of exports and imports? No. Indeed, it is a practice with the Indian financier at almost every budget to boast of the increasing exports and imports of British India as compared with those of other countries, and yet to almost simultaneously confute this, his own boast, by urging as an apology for his regularly-recurring measure of novel taxation the stationariness of the revenue from customs, that easy fiscal resource of countries less embarrassed than India. The customs realised in Great Britain from some 30 millions of people upon imported comforts and luxuries amount to 20,000,000*l.* a year. The customs realised in India under all our financial pressure from 200 millions of people amount to only 2½ millions sterling. Yet the customs taxation of India includes such fiscal barbarities as inland transit duties up-country, and heavy export duties on grain at the seaports. Moreover, the bulk of Indian customs is realised not upon articles of luxury, but upon clothing and other barest necessities of mere existence.

The increasing frequency and severity of famine form another deplorable and unanswerable demonstration that our fellow-subjects are not being enriched with all these aggrandised exports and imports. The Indian populations are being compelled to carry on their labour from harvest to harvest on a narrower and narrower margin of food-reserve, — a margin which is now-a-days proving more and more insufficient to tide over the ordinary contingencies of season. Optimists attempt to dispose of this difficulty by asserting that there were famines under native governments also. Now the fact is that scarcities did occur from time to time under native governments at rare intervals, and we are quick to remark how intimately *these* were connected with misrule, how amply *these* justified revolution. Famines recurring with the terrible frequency and the tremendous intensity which we have beheld in the present generation, and above all in the present decade, have been absolutely unknown except under the English administration. And even if our administration had not come short of that of our native predecessors, yet we must be held to have failed, for we, who have violently assumed the government, must submit to be judged according to a standard all the higher and more exacting.

With these general observations I proceed now to examine the exports and imports themselves, in detail, and to show, staple by staple,

that it is the Anglo-Indian Exchequer which is the most potent factor in determining the inflations and the contractions of Indian maritime commerce, that it is English taxation which is the chief force that moves these exports and imports in flood tide and ebb tide, in springs and neaps.

In both the Statics and the Dynamics I reverse the usual order of treatment, for I prefer to consider the exports before the imports, on the principle that people must have goods for sale in order that they may succeed in purchasing goods in exchange. But there is one important difference of treatment which I shall have occasion to introduce in the Dynamics, and which I shall, therefore, briefly notice. In the Statics I have treated of silver or money as a staple of merchandise given or received in exchange, just like any other of those commodities of trade from which *thus far and for the particular time of the actual operation* money does not substantially differ. But in the Dynamics I have to take note of these two facts which do not come into view in the Statics, namely, (1st) that money, in addition to its general function common alike to money and to other staples of merchandise, performs the farther function peculiar to itself of serving as the common measure of value, and (2nd), that, dynamically, this latter is a varying and not a constant function. This distinction is familiar to those who have watched the phenomena of paper currency when it is constituted an inconvertible and compulsory tender, how *for the time* it quickens trade with a spasmodic flush, and how *in the long run* when over-issued and depreciated it ends in that general congestion,—the factitious inflation of prices. These two widely different sets of monetary phenomena are in general hopelessly confused by our official optimists in connection with the Government's profuse expenditure on public works and with the competitive strain occasioned thereby to private enterprise.

The following is the most extensive view which I have been able to obtain of the detailed progress of the export staples. It opens at the period when the Punjab annexations had hardly yet begun to take commercial effect. I should have been glad to show the figures for an earlier decade, but I am not aware if they are procurable :—

ARTICLE.			AMOUNT, 1850-51.	AMOUNT, 1870-71.
			£	£
Coffee	...	...	100,509	809,701
Cotton, Raw	...	...	3,474,789	19,460,899
Cotton Goods, including twist and yarn	...	...	673,549	1,410,013
Indigo	...	...	1,980,896	3,192,503
Grain	{	Rice ...	752,294	4,146,638
		Wheat, &c. ...		
Hides and Skins	...	...	324,444	2,020,857
Jute	...	...	196,936	2,577,552
Opium	...	...	5,459,135	10,783,863
Saltpetre	...	...	369,543	440,554
Oil Seeds	...	...	339,514	3,522,305
Silk, Raw	...	...	619,319	1,351,346
Sugar	...	...	1,823,965	295,076
Tea	...	...	.....	1,120,516
Wool	...	...	68,285	670,647
Other articles	...	...	2,350,514	3,206,999
TOTAL ...			18,164,169	55,331,825

What, then, are the industrial processes actually exhibited in this twenty years' review?

The first prominent feature in the table is the progress of certain staples, COFFEE, INDIGO, and TEA—which have been grown almost solely on account of English capitalists who have consumed all but the whole profits elsewhere than in India. For these staples have been grown on that plantation system which possesses many of the evils and few of the alleviations of slavery or serfdom.

We have all learnt to condemn the absenteeism of the capitalist employers, and the exploitation of the coolie gangs in the case of the corn plantations or latifundia of the Romans in Sicily and Italy, the sugar plantations of the English in the Western, and coffee plantations of the Dutch in the Eastern Indies. So also in the English East Indies, it is impossible to look back without misgiving on all that has been done legislatively and fiscally in the avowed interests of the English capitalists engaged in raising indigo and tea. (There has been much less of this in the case of coffee.) These influential people have succeeded in obtaining prerogative after prerogative, such as are conceded to no *entrepreneurs* in any other industry, or in any other part of the world. They have wheedled or coerced a Government far too subservient into contract law after contract law aimed expressly against natives. Thus at one time they have obtained a special statute

providing the planter with a summary prosecution by criminal law in lieu of the regular process at civil law for pecuniary compensation, at another time with a stringent riot act as a procedure for awarding rights on landed property by way of remedy for a disorganised and demoralised administration of police. Plantations which whether in ancient Sicily or modern Java, whether in Demerara or Assam or Cachar, are worked for absentee capitalists, and on which in the last resort the motive power over the coolie gangs is substantially the lash of the magistrate or the treadmill of the jailor, possess neither the moral merits nor the commercial stability of a system of free industry. Let the capitalists who are now blindly investing in tea shares consider whether that is a sound and unprecarious system of business which may be ruined in a single season by a Lieutenant-Governor's views in interpreting one of his own Council's coolie statutes. So much for the special efforts of legislation by which indigo and tea, (and to some, but far less* extent coffee) have attained the proportions registered in the above schedule.

Consider next how many special fiscal privileges have been conceded to the English capitalists in these petted staples, such as, at one time, a special prerogative with the district treasuries as to rates of inland exchange, at another time a reduction of or an exemption from the general land tax. How different, according to the difference of occasion, are the complexions in which RENT, the mystic fetish of our Indian optimists, becomes manifest to its adorers. Is the staple a native one like rice or barley? Then the land assessment is rent and no burden, and the ryot who fails to see this is a sorry simpleton who has no conception of the sublime verities of Political Economy. But is the staple an English one like coffee or tea? Then the land assessment becomes at once a tax and a grievous burden, and the Finance Minister is required to withdraw it forthwith in the very same thrice holy name of Political Economy.

Finally then, the increase of exports under the plantation staples records not the growing welfare but, in a great measure, the growing hardship of a population among whom weavers and other artificers are driven from urban to rural industries, and are reduced more and more from the status of independent artisans to that of dependent rearers of raw produce.

We shall find this process farther exemplified under that second feature of the twenty years' review which is next to engage our attention, namely, the ampler figures finally registered under the exports of raw COTTON.

* In the case of coffee it is the general pressure of the political and fiscal system of administration that has favoured the plantations of Southern India. I shall describe this when I come to treat of SUGAR.

It will be seen that in 1850-51 the Indian population disposed of raw cotton to the amount of nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling, whereas in 1870-71 they sold to the amount of nearly $19\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling, being an increase, so far as these figures go, of nearly 600 per cent. There are few things which call forth so much exultation from our optimists as an enumeration of this sort. Such a progress in cotton is held to form a triumphant demonstration of the advancing prosperity of India under, and because of, British rule. A less superficial examination of the facts, including the actual condition of the people, as well as the mere figures of exportation, will be found to forbid any such complacent conclusion.

True, the Indian populations—or rather, as we shall presently notice, a certain limited portion of them—have received during 1870-71 for their exports of raw cotton say 19,460,899*l.*,—if for convenience we accept the official valuation entered by the custom house officials. They have also realised farther to the amount of, say, in the same way 1,410,013*l.* upon cotton more or less made up, namely, “Cotton goods, including twist and yarn.” Thus in all they have realised, say, 20,270,600*l.* on their cotton sales.

But on turning to the corresponding figures of imports for the same year 1870-71, we find that the populations of India have had to give 19,044,869*l.* for the materials of such scanty clothing as they have been able to buy. And of this 19,044,869*l.*, only a part, 15,644,867*l.*, had been made up into piece-goods, the rest, to the amount of 3,400,002*l.*, was mere twist and yarn which still needed the labour and the remuneration of the weaver before it could come into use. Thus the cotton business of India for the year 1870-71, according to the trade and navigation returns, consisted of outgoings to the amount of 20,270,600*l.* and of incomings to the amount of 19,044,869*l.* If there has been any profit on this cotton business of India, it is certainly not the Indian populations taken as a whole that have reaped it. I question too if the bankers and mill-owners of Manchester found much to congratulate themselves upon in respect to interest on their capital so far as concerned the Indian portion of their business for 1870-71.

But it will be answered that it was only a limited portion of the Indian populations that raised and disposed of raw cotton, and that they, at least, had netted a handsome profit on these export transactions. To this I answer, that the question in hand is that of the welfare or the hardship of the entire population of India. What is there for our Cotton Commissioners or even for that most sanguine official, Mr. Rivett-Carnac, what is there for them to boast of in this result that the ryots who have been raising raw cotton should have secured a profit

only by having been made a pretext for impoverishing their own fellow-countrymen?

But is it true that the ryots of the cotton districts are making any increase of profit over what they effected twenty years ago such as will justify the exultations of the optimists of Bombay and Manchester? Every one who is acquainted with the actual condition of the peasantry of the Central Provinces, heavily indebted and cruelly impoverished, utterly ground down by taxation, and in a recent year wasted by famine, will demur to the slipshod congratulations of Sir Thomas Bazley or Sir Richard Temple. With regard to the particular contrast under examination, it is unfortunate that the quantities as well as the estimated values of the raw cotton of exportation and of the made-up cotton of importation are not shown in the Blue Book for the opening year 1850-51. However, the price currents of the London *Economist's* annual review of business, as compiled in continuation of Tooke and Newmarch's work on Prices, will doubtless be received without objection. Well, these tables give $5\frac{1}{2}d.$ per lb as average price fetched by Indian raw cotton (Surats) during the six calendar years 1845-1850, and $6\frac{1}{2}d.$ per lb as the average price fetched by Indian raw cotton (fair Dhollera) during the calendar year 1871. Has the cotton soil of India become so much more fertile during the last twenty years that the ryots, notwithstanding all the greater costliness of food,* have been able to afford to raise raw cotton to the value of 19,460,899*l.* in 1870-71 at $6\frac{1}{2}d.$ per lb. against 3,474,789*l.* worth in 1850-51 at $5\frac{1}{2}d.$ per lb.? Certainly not. We know as a fact that in the cotton territories, as everywhere else, the Indian soil has been growing worse and not better in yield of crop during these years. But it will be said that it is the railways and other changes that have made all the difference. To this I answer, that in so far as this is correct (and to some extent it is correct), I can pronounce that system nothing less than a profligate and hypocritical violation of the professed principles of free trade under which the populations of the rest of India are fined some 2,000,000*l.* a year as a subsidy to the English shareholders of Indian railways,—a subsidy guaranteed, in a great measure, with the express and avowed object of stimulating the business of growing cotton in India and making it up in Manchester.

What sort of free trade is this under which cotton is stimulated with all the influence of a special official machinery maintained out of Indian taxes; is then taxed indulgently in the condition

* The general rise of prices will come under systematic review in the sequel.

of raw but severely in the condition of made-up material,—all in deference to the parliamentary interests of Lancashire? What sort of free trade is this which allows, nay in every way encourages, the deportation of raw cotton to Manchester free of export duty, but requires the made-up cotton to pay an export duty of 3 per cent? What sort of free trade is this which fines the weaver of Hindoostan and the boatman of the Ganges in a tremendous and unparalleled dietary poll-tax upon salt in order forsooth, that they may be deprived of their livelihoods by State guaranteed railways, and by other official bribes to a foreign manufacture?

The Political Economy which justifies such things is in so far not a science but a quackery.

INDIGO.—The next subject in alphabetical order has already been considered with the other staples of the plantation system in conjunction with coffee and tea. It deserves, however, to be noticed with satisfaction that apparently this important staple has not suffered in so far as it has been exempted more or less completely from the dangerous fostering of the plantation system of English enterprise; for example, this branch of business seems to have been making considerable progress in Madras.† But there are two great and imminent dangers that menace Indian indigo. This, like every other staple in the country, has been suffering under adverse political influences of many kinds, especially general taxation, which, universally and annually increasing, is rendering the conditions of production, and still more the conditions of manufacture, more and more unfavourable. (I reserve this subject of the handicapping of Indian industries until I come to SILK and SUGAR.) The first of these dangers menacing Indian indigo is that of being supplanted, like saltpetre, by some chemical device in Europe. The second danger is that of being displaced by indigo grown in Central America, where industrial progress has freer scope than in this, although the earliest, home of indigo, sugar, and cotton.

The next subject for consideration on the list of exported staples is GRAIN. The progress in the deportation of food-grain from 752,294*l.* worth in 1850-51 to 4,468,994*l.* worth in 1870-71 is a feature of Indian business which our official optimists will find difficult to reconcile with the chronic risk and the frequent occurrence of famine that have distinguished the second of the two decades now under review. Part of this advance certainly represents the influence

† I speak with reserve, for I have been cautioned by a Madras friend to institute farther enquiry and make sure as to whether a good deal of Madras indigo (like that of Tirhoot) is not grown in the few zemindari districts which admit of the domiciliary screw of rent.

of one of the causes which I pointed out in my general explanation of the increased exports and imports, namely, the annexation of territory. Of the 4,146,638*l.* worth of rice deported from British India, 1,876,153*l.* came from British Burmah. Some portion of this last amount came from a vast province which was annexed during these twenty years——by what means annexed is sufficiently known to those who have read Mr. Cobden's exposition of "*How Wars are got up in India.*" So far as the inhabitants of Pegu are concerned, a considerable portion of this additional rice business merely registers the result of those infamous proceedings of Lord Dalhousie, and denotes nothing whatever of greater prosperity to the Burmese. As regards the inhabitants of the possessions older than Pegu or the Punjab, a certain portion of this additional exportation of food grain simply records somewhat of the burdens which have been imposed upon them, because of the cost incurred in conquering and the loss incurred in administering these and other similarly deplorable annexations. To those who deny the progressive impoverishment of the Indian populations, I leave the task of reconciling an annual deportation of nearly 4½ millions sterling worth of food grain, (nearly 700,000 tons of rice alone) with the recent death of some two millions of tax-payers by hunger, and with the now annual anxiety about reserves unduly depleted.

The next subject on the list is the increase of the exports of HIDES and SKINS, from £324,444 in 1850-51 to £2,020,857 in 1870-71. The transactions in the last cited year happened to be exceptionally large for a reason which I shall presently explain. Yet apart from this, the rise otherwise has been very remarkable. The average of the annual exportation for the first five of the twenty years was about £389,000, that of the last five £1,322,000. Part (1) of this figured increase represents a greater carefulness in turning to use the skins of horned cattle, and in so far is a subject of satisfaction. Again (2) part of the increase is simply one phase of the general advance in prices, a subject which will come under systematic review in the fourth article to be devoted to bullion and currency in India. The quantities of the hides are not given in the Blue Book except for quite recent years, otherwise the enumeration would have shown readily what part of the increase of values might be set down to this influence. For the present I shall merely repeat that the much vaunted increase of prices throughout this country does not denote any proportionate nor any approach to a proportionate degree of prosperity among the inhabitants. Another (3) part of the increased exportation is to be attributed to the area of exploitation having been extended by annexations; and this, especially when taken in connection with the decay in the country leather trade, is a subject for regret and

not for congratulation. It remains, however, to notice (4) a fourth influence of a painful character which has been prominent in the last five of the years under review, and which culminated about 1869, I mean, the excessive and increasing mortality among Indian cattle.

Disease among cattle has also been destructive in the United-Kingdom, but considering the very different functions of horned stock there and here, considering that to oxen in India falls the labour of the plough and the cart which, in Europe, since the decay of the feudal and the rise of the industrial system has been performed by the superior animal, it is impossible to institute any adequate comparison between the ravages of the diseases (whatever may be their nature) among the cattle of the two countries. Physiologically also there is some difference between epidemic among English stock high-bred and almost overfed, and endemic among Indian stock notoriously degenerating in breed and decaying in strength from insufficiency of nourishment.

Even in the midst of the optimist verbiage which passes current in official circles (in extraordinary contradiction to the actual experiences of personal intercourse with the people), one comes across occasional glimpses that betray the incomparable severity of a loss of plough cattle in India. Thus, in one year we hear from a sub-division in Bengal that a good fourth of the cultivation area had lain unsown, in an earlier year we hear from a sub-division in Madras of the ryots having had to till their fields with the mattock. Again, the increasing scarcity of milk owing to the progressive paucity of milch kine is notoriously one of the growing hardships of life which come into special prominence in those places where (from whatever circumstances, and these remain still to be rationally co-ordinated), the populations of tracts once rich and flourishing are now being decimated by chronic disease.

The progressive defertilising of the fields, the progressive deterioration of the cattle, the progressive impoverishment of the people, such are the ghastly results of all this commercial exploitation of the Indian provinces. The very beasts of burden and the lifeless soil itself are made to feel the rigour of English taxation. One manufacture after another is being crushed out of the country, and now even the rural industry of the Hindu peasant begins to manifest the blight which has already withered the urban handicrafts of the Muhammadan towns. We are told that it is because Indian agriculture is rude and unskilled that it is thus falling off. Indian husbandry is but rude and unskilled, but what husbandry in the world could bear up against the overcropping which is compelled by the necessity of maintaining a distant and a costly rule of aliens whose domicile is

on the other side of the planet? What stock is there in the world that would not degenerate and fall into chronic murrain if they were yoked to constantly increasing tasks on over-cropped fields, and had to hunger over the diminished food of narrowed pasturages, under a system of exploiting whose conditions of a distant market, a long voyage, and a different climate, preclude any relief by substituting root-crop or grass-crop?

Our optimists have another easy off-hand way of attributing the progressive diminution of the yield of crop to the wastefulness of the Indian peasant, who according to them not only institutes no proper rotation of crops, but also burns for to-day's meal the refuse which ought to go for next year's crop. They wonder why the ryot does not allow his soil to rest and his bullock to fatten. (In like manner a high-born dame of the *ancien régime* marvelled why on earth the poor folks did not take to pastry if there was such a scarcity of bread.) Accordingly an Indian Department of Agriculture has been added by a doctrinaire government to the other burdens of the country in heedless ignorance of the fact, that the acquirements of the ryots, being necessarily as yet but empirical, cannot possibly be systematised. But the high-paid officials of the Department, not one of whom could earn a livelihood at sugarcane or rice or cotton, are going to acquaint themselves, in some way hitherto unimagined, what is the proper rotation of crops that shall by and by be officially preached, or perhaps be legislatively enacted like a canal rate, for the agricultural starvelings of India. Meanwhile (pending the discovery of all these things by means of model farms, competitive prizes, agricultural exhibitions, and other pills against the earthquake), the departmental gentlemen are to be chronicling the growing enrichment of the country. But dearth and even famine seem to enter with portentous pertinacity into such periodical narratives of the people's improvement in India. "*Tout va bien ici, le pain manque*" ("all well, bread scarce"), the famous despatch of a similar departmental doctrinaire, might be adopted as the motto of our new and useless department of optimism.

The facts of a degenerating stock of cattle, and a diminishing yield of land are too palpable to be set aside even by the most credulous believers in Indian prosperity. The very Bengal Board of Revenue itself does not appear to have yet extended its illustrious theory of Demand and Supply to the relation between Indian oxen and Indian grass. But that metaphysics, which formed the easy resource of the Board in regard to famine and mortality among men, has been resorted to for similar explanations of degeneracy and disease among cattle, and it has yielded from time to time the requisite entities of the usual kind. Thus at one time the cause to which all these and other agricultural troubles are attributed, is

a certain innate stupidity which is said to disable the ryot from understanding his own business. At another time it is a certain inherent greediness which is said to disqualify the ryot from doing justice to his much-cherished ancestral holding. It would be interesting if these off-hand reasoners would be good enough to complete their explanations by describing what, according to them, had been the ancient condition of stock and tillage from which all this process of degeneration, thus due to Hindu depravity, had originally begun, and what generally is the ultimate condition towards which it is all tending. Do they hold that the native, under a native government, scourged his fields with an over-cropping as ruinous as the present, even in those ages when there were as yet no distant mortgagees for whom crops had to be deported to the other side of the globe, no carriers by sea and land who had to be hired to convey the very tribute itself?

The metaphysics of our medical enquirers into the conditions of industrial production is worthy of the metaphysics of our fiscal enquirers into the conditions of industrial distribution. For it is the custom with these latter gentlemen, when confounded by famine and harassed for an explanation of the excessive deportation of food grain, and of the undue depletion of food-reserves, to invoke some impersonal idol which they have conjured up for themselves, say, the mystery of Supply and Demand. Or if it becomes necessary to justify a tremendous land-tax, they divine with that mystic abracadabra, guiltless of raising prices, which Mr. Ricardo revealed to political economists as RENT.

If the social portion of all this State optimism is very vague, the biological portion of it is not less misty. Thus the Indian medical officer is required to furnish, what shall pass as a scientific explanation of the increasing degeneracy of cattle, or the increasing scarcity of fish supply, or the increasing scarcity of wood. Accordingly he sets to work and feigns some entity or other, (usually some express depravity attributed to the native mind in India, or some express depravity attributed to the outer world in India), some indwelling essence or other peculiar to Hindustan as invisible, incognisable, incorporeal and intangible as that Vacuum which used to be abhorred, and that Vital Principle which used to be cherished by the metaphysicians' deity, Nature. Neglecting the fundamental canon of all really sound biological enquiry, namely, that of considering the organism and the medium together, some of these people think to deal scientifically with the organism apart from its medium, others to deal scientifically with the medium apart from the organism. Accordingly, if the subject which is adopted happens to be native mankind considered apart from the natives' surroundings, the result is some

turpitude or other, say the native's greediness, to wit, in raising too much crop of corn, or the native's apathy, to wit, in raising too little crop of fodder. On the other hand, if the subject chosen for this unscientific method of investigation happens to be the medium apart from the organism, then there results some entity or other like that which we meet in so many official reports on cholera and cattle disease,—malaria air-borne, malaria water-borne, telluric poison and so forth, mere names which pretend to yield information but which in reality are mere re-statements of the fact of ignorance, mere conversions of a symbol X and a symbol Y both of which are quantities that are equally unknown and that remain equally unresolved.

Such are those genii, the airy imaginations of pedantic pretenders to science, for the combating of which the recent new and costly departments of Agriculture, of Fisheries and of Forests have been added to the previous burden on the country. When natives see the scandalous waste of harshly wrung taxes upon poltrooneries so useless as these, how should they not conclude that the economical professions of Government are mere hypocritical grimaces?

Let us take the Forest Department, as an instance, and subject it to the common sense tests of the most ordinary Hindu clod-hopper. For if only we would drop our conventional arrogance towards native ways of thinking, we should extricate ourselves from certain sophistries and phantoms which at present hopelessly obscure the official mind about this particular phase of the increasing hardship of life. We choose to reproach the ryots with recklessness in using dried manure for fuel.* Yet the Government's own department of Public Works habitually practises that very same recklessness in their own brick kilns.—It is notorious too that one of the most serious mischiefs of that same very expensive department of Public Works, is its waste of the timber and fuel resources of the country. The very railways themselves, which have been so harrying in other ways have caused the utmost havoc of timber for building and repairing wood-work and for furnishing and re-furnishing sleepers, so that at last we have come to the preposterous anomaly of importing sleepers from the pine forests of Norway and from the very ends of the earth into this miserably poor and exhausted country. The constant waste of wood for engine fuel, entailing a constant rise in the cost of cooking material, is another evil of these railways of ours,—railways which the Hindus are as little able to afford as the English farmer can afford to plough with Derby racers or the Indian ryot with elephants.

* Mr. Elliott, author of "The Experiences of a Coffee Planter," has shown that the evil attributed to this has been very much over estimated by Englishmen in India.

Yet this increasing costliness of fuel is a specimen of that rise of prices which supplies the official optimist with endless themes for the praise of the English Government. Nor this alone: for it supplies the Government with a pretext for wasting £300,000 a year on a useless department of what is preposterously called Forest Conservancy. The "gross superstition" to which the natives are "slaves,"—a superstition impelling them to cherish trees and to plant groves,—does more to alleviate even our prodigious waste of Indian woods than all that Mr. Grant Duff's pet department will ever effect, though it be imbued with the sublimest *geist* of woodcraft that apprentice rangers can acquire at the expense of the Indian tax-payer in the forest bureaucracies of Hanover and Nancy.

Dr. Cleghorn, Dr. Day, Dr. Macleod, and Mr. Hume will doubtless smile at the Hindu, when the idolatrous heathen attributes the deterioration of stock and soil to the displeasure of the gods at that perjury which has become more and more overwhelming, according as we have meddled more and more minutely in the administration of the country. The Muhammadan again will be pronounced a fanatic when, in the blessing (*burkut*) withheld from the fields during these latter days, he beholds the judgment of God for the increasing sinfulness of man. Nay, the Muhammadan will probably be stigmatised as something worse than a fanatic if, at the risk of being punished* as a Wahabi, he rashly proceeds to quote the promise of The Book. "If ye walk in my statutes and keep my commandments and do them, then I will give you rain in due season, and the earth shall yield her increase, and the trees of the field shall yield their fruit. Ye shall eat old store and bring forth the old because of the new. Ye shall eat your bread to the full and dwell in your land safely, and ye shall know that I am the Lord when I have broken the bands of your yoke, and delivered you out of the hands of them that serve themselves of you."

For my part, if I had to make choice between the idolatry of the natives' theology and the idolatry of the *saheb's* metaphysics (his worship of the *idola theatri* as Lord Bacon would have called them), I should have no hesitation in preferring the hypothesis of the former as being of the two the more scientific, inasmuch as they the more completely and consistently explain the phenomena. There is far more of sound sense and strict logic with the native in explaining the diminished yield of crop by such

* Or still worse, at the risk of getting his sons-in-law punished as Wahabis forty years afterwards when he himself is dead and gone. Compare Bengal Blue Book on the Patna

Wahabis, pp. 32,129 *Exhibit No. 49 C: Translation of a paper (Exhibit No. 49 C) found by Ishree Pershad, Court Inspector of Police, in the house of Moulvie Yahiy Ali.*

theories as the Kali jug (fourth or degenerate age) the fatality of scorning Brahmans, the evil eye of the English assessor of land-tax and the blight of his newfangled and impious measuring chain, than there is with the pretended savant in postulating an express viciousness or a congenital defectiveness of native character. The uniform ungraciousness of Deity in lessening fish supply as an explanation of the facts, is a hypothesis more simple, more consistent, and more comprehensive than Dr. Day's assertion of a uniform depravity of the natives in dealing with finned creatures. In regard to the constant degeneracy and the frequent mortality of cattle, the pathology of a Moses or a Manu, a Homer, or a Virgil is as superior in scientific value as it is in intrinsic beauty to the scholastic theories of our officials and our special Commissions in India.

“Τίσειαν Δαναοὶ ἐμὰ δάκρυα τοῖσι βέλεσσιν.”
 “Ὡς ἔφατ’ εὐχόμενος τοῦ δ’ ἔκλυε Φοῖβος Ἀπολλων
 βῆ δὲ κατ’ Οὐλύμποιο καρήνων χωόμενος κῆρ,
 τόξ’ ὤμοισιν ἔχων, ἀμφηρεφέα τε φαρέτρην
 ἔκλαγξαν δ’ ἄρ’ ὄϊστοὶ ἐπ’ ὤμων χωομένοιο
 αὐτοῦ κινηθέντος. ὁ δ’ ἦϊε νυκτὶ εἰοικώς.
 ἔζετ’ ἐπειτ’ ἀπάνευθε νεῶν, μετὰ δ’ ἰὸν ἔηκε
 δεινὴ δὲ κλαγγὴ γένετ’ ἀργυρέοιο βιοιο.
 Οὐρήας μὲν πρῶτον ἐπ’ ἤχετο καὶ κύνας ἀργούς,
 αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ’ αὐτοῖσι βέλος ἔχεπεν κῆς ἐφίεις
 βάλλ’ αἰεὶ δὲ πυραὶ νεκύων καίοντο θαμειαί.

Sœvit, et in lucem Stygiis emissa tenebris,
 Pallida Tisiphone morbos agit ante metumque,
 Inque dies avidum surgens caput altius effert.
 Balatu pecorum et crebris mugitibus amnes,
 Arentesque sonant ripæ collesque supini.
 Iamque catervatim dat stragem, atque aggerat ipsis
 In stabulis turpi dilapsa cadavera tabo,
 Donec humo tegere ac foveis abscondere discunt.
 Nam neque erat coriis usus, &c.

As for the respective remedies which are suggested by the Hindu's explanation of theology and by the Englishman's explanation of metaphysics, it may or it may not be possible to propitiate the Thakuraneie of the Hindu villager, that *pallida Tisiphone* who smites man and beast with small-pox. It may or it may not be hopeless to appease that Phœbus Apollo of the rebel sepoy or the rebel Kuka, who avenges outrages upon sacrosanct Brahmans and outrages upon sacrosanct kine with the pestilence

that walketh in darkness, the arrow that flieth by day. Awful indeed, are these celestial DIVINITIES to pacify, but far more awful because far more inscrutable and inaccessible, are those Hindustani INSTINCTS, the destroyers of man and beast, whom our Famine and Fisheries and Cattle Commissioners have conjured out of the depths of their consciousness, and whom they have proposed to police.

JAMES GEDDES.

ART. VII.—PROVINCIAL COUNCILS.

IN a recent number we reviewed the present position of the Legislative Council ; in doing so our object was, as we stated, to consider not in what way existing institutions required alterations, but how far these institutions fulfilled the intentions of their authors. We found that the establishment of the present Council was intended as a step, though perhaps a not very decided one, towards popular government ; and that although the machine might be far from perfect, it might be made to perform its duties much more satisfactorily than at present. We had no space to examine whether the introduction of improved machinery was not required ; that question we reserved for the future consideration which we propose to give it in the present article.

But before we can do so, we must dispose of certain objections which are urged *in limine* against the establishment of popular institutions in India. Briefly the objections are these ; the true object of our government, disguise it as we may, is the maintenance of English rule ; an admission of the people of this country to anything like a real control over its government might be, and probably would be, incompatible with the existence of our rule ; your imitations of free institutions must be at the best contemptible shams, and they may be very dangerous sources of discontent ; it is therefore most unwise to profess a policy you have not the slightest intention of following to its logical results, and which will fill the people's heads with notions that will hereafter have to be removed with summary vigour.

We confess that these objections would appear to us absolutely fatal if we were to admit the premise that the main thing to be aimed at is the maintenance of English supremacy ; we meet them by simply denying the premise *in toto*. Our denial may be startling, and to defend it, we must go back some way into the discussion of first principles. We need not go back quite so far as the Creation, but we must go back to the old theory of Divine Right, which is almost as venerable. It is quite true that scarcely any rational man at present believes in this theory, that there exists on the earth an exalted and peculiarly gifted race called kings, who are really "the Lord's anointed," who have had their power entrusted to them by God, and who are responsible solely to Him for their use and abuse of it ; that the rest of mankind are their subjects, bound not only to obey them in all things, but to shed their blood in their defence ; that when the Sovereign's tyrannies surpass all endurance, the subjects' only remedy is to

pray that their lord's heart may be softened. If any one really believes this, he will continue to do so in spite of any arguments that could possibly be advanced against it. He is in precisely the same condition as the man who, as we read some time ago in the English papers, persisted in betting a large sum that the earth was flat; when a series of scientific experiments had proved conclusively that it was round, the extraordinary creature, instead of being convinced, proceeded to threaten the life of the arbitrators. Just so would the believer in Divine Right, if he could not answer our arguments, demand our execution as atheists and traitors.

But if the old Divine Right of kings cannot be defended, neither can the Divine Right of certain classes or nations. Both the principles are the same, for they rest on the assumption that one person or many may demand the obedience of others as a right sanctioned by the Deity, and not as a return for services rendered. Of the two, the theory of Divine National Right is the more objectionable, as it is the more unfounded—for it is based on mere selfishness; the tyranny of a monarch is rejected, not because tyranny is bad in itself, but because the person rejecting it feels the unpleasantness of being tyrannized over. But he has no objection whatever to tyrannizing over others; just so history tells us, many Protestant sects had no sooner freed themselves from Rome, than they substituted for the Roman system a tyranny more overbearing and irrational. Though many of the cavaliers may have fought mainly in defence of their own class privileges, yet the self-sacrifices made by the party generally on behalf of the Royal martyr and his worthless descendants make us almost blind to the errors of the belief which prompted them. On the other hand in the late civil war in America, though individual leaders, like Lee, who honestly believed their allegiance to be due to their State and not to the Union, may deserve our sincere respect: the war on the whole was nothing else than an attempt to maintain at the point of the sword the Divine Right of white men to keep black men in slavery. The real badness of the Southern cause has made us almost forget that it is at least very questionable whether, under the old constitution, any Sovereign State could be kept in the union by force. But many men who repudiate domestic, will defend political slavery. They advocate it on the ground that the subject nation is fit for no higher form of life, and so far their argument may be perfectly true. But we ask these men, what would you do if it did become fit? Would you grant freedom or withhold it? Let us come to the point at once, and take the case of India. Let us suppose that it has become perfectly capable of governing itself, and that it wishes to do so. Can you persist in imposing on it English rule merely on the ground that the abolition of her supremacy would be

injurious to England? The reason of this persistence must be either a belief in the Divine Right of England to benefit herself by injuring others, or a contemptuous repudiation of all reference to right, and an open avowal that might is right. The first of these two doctrines must sooner or later develope into the latter, for unfortunately, not only is the subject nation likely to have a very strong belief in its own Divine Right to liberty, but other superior nations are equally confident that it is to them the Deity has entrusted the work of civilization.

If we are content to accept as our guiding maxim the rule "might is right," any further discussion about right must be a mere waste of time. If a Bomba can crush all political life in Naples, "he is right;" if the mob can send a Louis XVI. to the scaffold, they are right; if British troops were to be ordered to massacre periodically a certain number of natives by way of example, their chiefs might plead that they had a right to give those orders; and a precisely similar plea might have been urged by the Náná Sáhib in defence of his proceedings at Cawnpore.

Yet we would ask even those who maintain that might is right, to consider what are the true elements of strength. Is not a loyal, intelligent, and united people far stronger than the best organized army any despot ever possessed? Why does the advance of Russia cause us such anxiety? Supposing that she succeeded in absorbing not only Central Asia, but also Persia and Afghanistan, and that her boundaries were actually conterminous with those of British India?—Supposing that her designs on the latter were too clear to be mistaken? Why should we fear them? But we should fear them, and justly, because we have boasted that our power was maintained solely by the sword, and we should feel that this power was about to slip from us. Were the people of India to remain strictly neutral, it is extremely improbable that we could long maintain an army capable of holding in check the force that could be poured on us from the Afghan frontier. If the people were to take an active part with the invader, our situation would be hopeless. But if we succeeded in so gaining the affections of the people, that they looked upon our cause as their own; if they felt that their whole well-being, both as a nation and as individuals, depended on the success of our arms, how different would be the situation. An invasion met by the English army supported by a national up-rising could end only in disaster. Did we but feel that the Government and the people are one, a Russian Governor of Cabul might review his troops and issue his proclamations without causing us a moment's serious uneasiness.

If we must reject as "impious and heretical" the doctrine that might is right, and if we are unable to believe that the Deity

has created whole races of men merely in order to flatter the vanity of a despot, or to swell the national pride of Englishmen, the only ground on which the government of one people by another race can be defended, is the plea that the rule of the stranger is actually advantageous to the governed. When it ceases to be so, it ceases to be justifiable. We have no hesitation in saying that England would be bound by all the principles she has ever professed, to retire from India, if it were really to the advantage of the latter that she should do so. Not even the most appalling statistics about imports and exports will convince us that the immediate abolition of English rule would be anything but the greatest calamity that could happen to the country. No doubt there is great room for improvement, but it is order alone that makes improvement possible. Who is sanguine enough to believe that if the English went, order would remain?

We may be told that these sentiments are "unpatriotic," perhaps we may be even charged with "cosmopolitanism." We reply by pointing out the difference between true and false patriotism. It is as great as the difference between true and false honour. True honour makes the true gentleman, who, if ready to resent to the death any injury or insult offered to him, is equally careful to avoid injuring or insulting others. False honour makes the swaggering bravo, whose honour is maintained solely by dishonouring others, and compelling them to pay him that servile deference which he imagines to be respect. So too the true patriot is content that his country should be free; in defence of its freedom he will die; if this is not attacked, he will devote his whole energies to improving the condition of his fellow-countrymen. For freedom in its true sense, or for the internal prosperity of his country, the false patriot cares but little; he desires his country to be "great," to hold other nations in subjection, and to vaunt its superiority over those which still retain their independence, for all this ministers to his own personal vanity. He dislikes national defeats and loss of territory simply because these prevent him from boasting and swaggering as he has been accustomed to do. If India were to become fit for independence, and were to wish for it, a truly patriotic Englishman would not wish to retain it in subjection. Its independence would not make England less free; even if it would do so, he could scarcely think that he was justified in keeping her share of freedom from India in order to increase the freedom of England. Nor could he claim to retain India on the ground that it is necessary to the commercial prosperity of England. This prosperity may be highly desirable, but to secure it we must not do a deliberate wrong to other weaker nations.

If English supremacy is to be justified on the ground that it is

beneficial to the people, it is plainly the duty of the governors to confer on the governed all the benefits they can. If the Government deliberately withholds benefits it has the power to bestow, it cannot be called a good Government, although it may be easy to conceive a worse one. Some writers seem to think it quite sufficient to prove that the tyranny and corruption of a Native State were much worse than any shortcomings that can be alleged against English administration. In a similar manner the opponents of Reform in 1832 might have declared that existing institutions could need no alteration, because they were an improvement on the arrangements of the Heptarchy. No doubt the first duty of a Government is to establish order, and remove all obvious impediments to the material prosperity of the country, just as it is the first duty of a father to supply his children with sufficient clothes and food ; but the Government is as much bound as a parent to provide for the higher wants of those entrusted to its care. These higher wants are education in its true sense, that is, not a mere acquisition of book learning, but a careful development and strengthening of all those qualities of the pupil, which will hereafter enable him to play the part of a true man. If it is the clear duty of the rulers to do this, it is equally clear that their first steps must be to establish the form of government best calculated to perform this duty. When we speak of establishing a particular form of government, we are not guilty of the error, exposed by Mr. Mill in the commencement of his work on Representative Government, of supposing that forms of Government are like steam engines, that can be purchased and set up in their entirety in any place you please, but neither do we fall into the opposite mistake of maintaining that every form is the indigenous produce of some particular soil, and that any attempt to change it, or introduce a foreign stock, must prove a failure. "Political institutions" says Mr. Mill, "are the work of men and owe their origin and whole existence to human will. Men did not wake on a summer morning, and find them sprung up. Neither do they resemble trees which when once planted are aye growing while men are sleeping. In every stage of their existence they are made what they are by human voluntary agency. Like all things, therefore, which are made by men, they may be well or ill made ; judgment and skill may have been exercised in their production, or the reverse of these. Again, if a people have omitted, or from outward pressure have not had it in their power, to give themselves a constitution by the tentative process of applying a corrective to each evil as it arose, or as the sufferers gained strength to resist it, this retardation of political progress is no doubt a great disadvantage to them, but it does not prove that what has proved good for others

"would not have been good also for them, and will not be so
"still when they think fit to adopt it.

If, then, the form of government is to some extent a matter of choice, it follows that we ought to adopt what is ideally the best form, unless there are some practical obstacles which prevent our doing so. And what is ideally the best form? No idea is more common,—and it is one particularly in favour with Europeans in India—than that if we could only secure a good despot, his rule would be the best we could possibly have. In the third chapter of his work, Mr. Mill examines and thoroughly refutes this argument; he shews that if the despotism is real, that is, if all actual power is retained by the ruler in his own hands, there is death to all national life: the people are mere automatons, acting with more or less perfection the parts assigned to them. If, on the other hand, the despot voluntarily abstains from exercising a great part of his power, and allows it to pass into the hands of the people, there must sooner or later come a day when he will have to formally surrender it, or to take it back again; in the former case he will be no longer a despot, but a constitutional monarch; in the latter he will again be the autocrat whose rule is death. The case against the benevolent despot is summed up in the following words:—"a good
"despotism means a government in which, so far as depends on
"the despot, there is no oppression by officers of State, but in
"which all the collective interests of the people are managed
"for them, all the thinking that has any relation to collective
"interests done for them, and in which their minds are formed
"by, and consenting to, this abdication of their own energies.
"Leaving things to government, like leaving things to providence,
"is synonymous with caring nothing about them, and accepting
"their results, when disagreeable, as visitations of nature. With
"the exception, therefore, of a few studious men who take an
"intellectual interest in speculation for its own sake, the intelligence and sentiments of the whole people are given up to
"their material interests, and, when these are provided for, to
"the amusements and ornamentation of private life. But to
"say this is to say, if the whole testimony of history is worth anything, that the era of national decline has arrived, that is, if
"the nation has ever reached any thing to decline from. If it
"has never risen above the condition of an oriental people,
"in that condition it continues to stagnate. But if, like Greece
"and Rome, it had realized anything higher, through the
"energy, patriotism, and enlargement of mind, which as national
"qualities are the fruits solely of freedom, it relapses in a few
"generations into the oriental state—and that state does not
"mean stupid tranquillity, with security against change for the

"worse—it often means being over-run, conquered, and reduced
 "to domestic slavery, either by a stronger despot, or by the
 "nearest barbarous people who retain along with their savage
 "rudeness the energies of freedom."

There are few men, indeed, who really look upon a despotism as a good *per se*; those who profess to admire it, regard it much as the ritualistic clergy do the authority of their right reverend fathers in God, the Bishops. As long as a man is assured that such a power will only be exercised on his side, he is loud in extolling its benefits, nay, he even ascribes to it a divine origin. But it is no sooner turned against him than it becomes an odious usurpation, to be resisted to the utmost extremity. Thus in India, from which we should fly in terror were there any serious danger of its being governed by a despot of any race but our own, we are never tired of comparing our own superior intelligence with the imperfections of our neighbours, and we do not hesitate to decide that the latter were created by nature as a *corpus vile* for the experiments of the enlightened despot. In England if we ever invoke the despot, it is solely in order that he may remove certain temporary obstructions to our personal convenience, or put down certain ideas which we think erroneous.

"It is evident," says Mr. Mill, "that the only government
 "which can fully satisfy all the exigencies of the social state, is
 "one in which the whole people participate; that any participa-
 "tion, even in the smallest public function, is useful: that the
 "participation should be everywhere as great as the general
 "degree of improvement of the community will allow; and no-
 "thing less can be ultimately desirable than the admission of
 "all to a share in the sovereign power of the State. But since
 "all cannot, in a community exceeding a single small town, parti-
 "cipate personally in any but some very minor portions of the
 "public business, it follows that the ideal type of a perfect govern-
 "ment must be representative."

A representative government means a government in which the ultimate power of control rests with the people themselves through their representatives. It by no means implies that every detail of executive government should be decided by a popular vote. The executive officers should, as a matter of policy, be left as unfettered as possible, but they will remain responsible to the people for the way in which they use the powers entrusted to them, and all great questions of principle affecting the welfare of the nation at large will be decided by the nation itself, and not by a privileged individual or a privileged class.

But such a government, however ideally perfect, and however honestly we may place it before us as the true goal to be arrived

at, can only exist under certain conditions. These are, 1.—That the people should be willing to receive it. 2.—That they should be willing and able to do what is necessary for its preservation. 3.—That they should be willing and able to fulfil the duties, and discharge the functions it imposes on them. Do these necessary conditions exist in India? We cannot say that the people would be actually unwilling to receive representative institutions, or that, in some parts of the country at least, they would be incapable of discharging the duties imposed on them. But we much fear that, speaking of the country as a whole, it would receive them with the indifference which is even more fatal than actual opposition. The following remarks of Mr. Mill on this point apply only too truly to India, though it does not appear that they were expressly intended for it. “When a people have no sufficient value for and attachment to a representative constitution, they have next to no chance of retaining it. In every country the executive is the branch of the government which wields the immediate power, and is in direct contact with the public; to it, principally, the hopes and fears of individuals are directed, and by it both the benefits, and the terrors, and prestige of the government are mainly represented to the public eye. Unless, therefore, the authorities whose office it is to check the executive, are backed by an effective opinion and feeling in the country, the executive has always the means of setting them aside, or compelling them to subservience, and is sure to be well supported in doing so. Representative institutions necessarily depend for permanence on the readiness of the people to fight for them in case of their being endangered. If too little valued for this, they seldom obtain a footing at all, and, if they do, are almost sure to be overthrown, as soon as the head of the government, or any party leader who can muster a force for a *coup de main*, is willing to run some small risk for absolute power.” That this is actually the present state of the people of India is, we fear, beyond a doubt; and in proof of this we will adduce a single instance. We have been establishing municipalities and local committees, which are but representative governments in miniature. We should be the last to ridicule these; we believe that the good they are doing to the country is enormous, but we cannot assert that as yet they are truly appreciated by the people. Supposing they were abolished to-morrow, and all the powers now exercised by them transferred to Government officials? No doubt the ex-members of the committees would be angry, and their personal connections would murmur; in the Presidency Towns they might even hold public meetings. But would the people generally really care about the matter? Would any one dream

of fighting not to recover a personal privilege, but on behalf of a principle?—If, then, it is impossible at present to establish representative institutions in their full extent, we must be content with a government which is more or less despotic. By a despotic government we do not mean an arbitrary one, where every order of an official is law, but only one where the ultimate control rests not with the people, but with a privileged few, *e.g.*, the Secretary of State for India in Council. But a despotism with which we only reluctantly put up, is very different from a despotism which we assert to be a perfect form of government. In the latter at least, men can only become good machines; orders are obeyed simply because they are orders, and obedience is itself a virtue. In the former, obedience is rendered because we feel that submission to the law is the first requisite for the improvement of the community, and we look on the existing system not as a thing perfect in itself, but merely as a stepping stone to something better.

Such a despotism is the Government of India; unless, indeed, the most solemn utterances of our public men are merely hypocritical sentimentalities intended to conceal their true feelings. There is not one of them in a position sufficiently eminent to make his views of the slightest consequence, who has not repeatedly asserted that it is the honest desire of the English Government to prepare India for the next step in advance, and to confer on it the maximum of self-government it is capable of exercising. No doubt many Englishmen in private life, officials as well as non-officials, openly avow very different sentiments, but fortunately the policy of the Government is not, and is not likely to be, in their guidance. We believe that our leading statesmen are really sincere in their professions; the only question therefore is, is the country ready for another step? and what is that step to be?

Before we answer this let us look carefully round and see where we are now. The three great branches of Government are the legislative power, or the privilege of deciding on what principles the country is to be governed; the executive, or the task of putting these laws into force; and the taxing power, or the right to decide what money shall be spent on these objects, and how it shall be raised. In representative institutions the ultimate control over all these branches rests with the people, in India it practically rests with the executive Government. But in each branch we have advanced considerably from a simple despotism. In that state the personal will of the despot is law; his commands must be obeyed in whatever form they are issued; a verbal order given as he passes along the street has the same force as the most carefully prepared proclamation. In such a Government executive officers are far above the law, for there is no law but their master's word; he alone it is who can punish them for oppression. In the same way, taxes are levied whenever the ruler sees fit to order them. Great

as may be the power of the Governor-General and his officers, it is something very different from this. Neither he nor any of his Council could order the summary punishment of the lowest coolie without laying themselves open to an action for damages; we do not say that such an action would be brought, but it is a great step to have made it even theoretically possible. No doubt the actual power of the Government to pass any law it pleases is almost unlimited in theory, but in practice it is checked by many most valuable safe-guards. All proposed measures must be first formally published for general information, and this enables the press to criticise them freely; they must then be debated in the Legislative Council, a body which, as we recently pointed out, although it is not representative in the sense of being popularly elected, yet contains some members who are true representatives of the best interests of the people, and who, if they cannot command a majority of votes, can at least offer an opposition which no true despot would for a moment permit, and which is distasteful even to some who call themselves liberal statesmen. That this control is by no means imaginary is shewn by the fate of the Weights and Measures and Panjáb Canal Acts; both these measures passed the Council, but it was undoubtedly the opposition shewn there, and the force of public opinion as expressed in the press, that led the Secretary of State to exercise his right of veto. The state of the legislative branch of Government is therefore this: the despot has formally renounced the power of making laws at his own will and pleasure; laws have to be passed with much the same formalities as in a popular constitution; the assembly in which they are debated is under the control of the Government, but not so completely that the voice of criticism is altogether silenced; and this criticism, if vigorously supported by outside public opinion, does exercise a very real and important influence on legislation.

In the Executive Government the idea that officials are the privileged servants of a superhuman master, answerable only to him, which is the very essence of the despotic principle,—has been abandoned, and it is openly admitted that these men are the servants of the public, entrusted with certain powers to be exercised for the public benefit, but responsible to the public individually for any abuse of these powers. It is true the public cannot demand the dismissal of an offending official, but any one injured by his acts, can obtain redress in a Court of Law.* Except the right of self-defence, possessed by officials and non-officials alike, no offi-

* It is with great regret that we have noticed a growing tendency of late years to slip into special Acts, clauses exempting officers intrusted with certain duties from all civil liability. "Dodges" like this make one almost doubt the sincerity of Government; it still maintains the great principle of official liability, but renders its application to any particular case an impossibility.

cer possesses any power beyond that distinctly conferred on him by law. By the right of self-defence we mean, of course, not the right to defend his own person, but the right to defend the State against illegal violence. Whether the circumstances of a particular case warrant a recourse to this right is purely a question of fact, precisely as it is a question of fact whether a private individual assaulting another is really acting in self-defence. But the notion that every official possesses in reserve a discretionary power above the law, and that he is free from all liability to the public unless it can be proved that he used it out of mere wantonness, is as fallacious as it is mischievous. In the case of Mr. Cowan the Government of India formally abjured it, and the reproach with which they were assailed by a large portion of the press only proves how necessary was this declaration of policy. Excellent as Indian officers as a class are, they are not above human failings. Leading statesmen may see the dangers or the evils of a despotism, but we can scarcely expect the rank and file of a bureaueracy to admit that it is desirable that their power should be curtailed. As it is, the executive officers of Government are invested by law with all the power they can exercise for the public good. It is not for the public good that they should be regarded as a privileged caste above the reach of the law. The law itself does not so regard them, and it rests with the people themselves to enforce the law. We must own that we sympathize with them in any attempt to do so. No doubt a resolute and able man may in the majority of cases defy the law with impunity, but there are many signs of a growing spirit of opposition to these illegalities. Even in the Panjáb an attempt to bring a District Officer to account is not unknown; probably in the particular case the officer may have been right and his assailant wrong, or at least the former may have been actuated by a high and the latter by a mean motive. But the principle that a Government officer is accountable to the ordinary Courts of Law for his acts, and not merely to his official superiors, is one of such vital importance that we should hesitate to oppose it even in a case where it may have been misapplied.

Little need be said of the taxing power. Though taxes can only be imposed by a formal Act of the Legislature, and though the procedure observed in the introduction and passing of these is the same as that observed in the case of other Acts, yet it is an understood thing that the influence of Government should be used much more freely and openly on their behalf than in behalf of other measures. It is only natural that it should be so. The acquisition of the power of the purse is the last step in popular progress. The control of the finances must rest with the Government of the day, and the power to reject, or seriously alter, the financial

measures proposed by Government implies that there is an opposition ready and able to take the places of the defeated ministers.

It may be asked, if the Government has really made such advances from despotism as we have alleged, if its executive officers are completely subordinate to the law, and if the laws themselves are made with the same formalities as in a representative government, and subjected freely to the criticism of whatever public opinion exists, what necessity is there for urging any step in advance? Have we not already relaxed the bonds of despotism far more than the people have ever demanded, nay even to such an extent that they are unable to realize and appreciate the freedom we have given them? Now, we should be the very last to force on the country the latest political fashions of Europe, and no one can admit more fully than we do the need that the country has of rest. But can we rest where we are? Is it not universally deplored that there is a wide, if not a widening, gulf between the governors and the governed—that the feeling essential to the true well-being of a community that the government and the people are one is almost non-existent? And is not the reason this, that the mass of our officials who come into daily contact with the people are tenaciously jealous of their own position, looking on the policy of government which diminishes their personal power as absolutely suicidal, whilst the higher officials who direct this policy think themselves so greatly superior to the people in intelligence that for them to ask for the opinions of the latter would be as absurd as for a schoolmaster to consult his pupils as to the truth of the most elementary rules of arithmetic?

That this gulf exists is unfortunately undeniable, and as long as it exists change even for the better in the *theory* of government—can be of little use. We have already seen that it is not that the principle of our government is radically wrong; the failing is that the people are altogether indifferent to our principles. Much of this may be due to faults on our own part, such as those we have already pointed out, but much more is owing to previous mis-government. We complain that the people will not feel that their interests and those of the government are identical; we forget that from the earliest days of history down to the present time they have, in fact, been diametrically opposed. We blame them for want of spirit in not resisting over-bearing officials, but we forget that for hundreds of years they have been taught to regard an official as a part of the ruler, to resist whom was death. We call on them to be martyrs in the cause of liberty, and we forget that with us this cause has triumphed, but with them, it has been hopelessly crushed. Their chief unfitness for representative institutions arises from a defect the cure of which rests mainly with ourselves. Their fault is that they would not fight on behalf of these institu-

tions, if they were seriously attacked; they can only be seriously attacked by our own officers; if we take care that this attack is not made, there is little doubt that the people will in time learn to appreciate and defend them. We believe that the task of bridging over this gulf, though a difficult, is by no means a hopeless one. Where a *bond fide* share in the government has been offered to the people they have eagerly accepted it, and on the whole they have discharged the duties entrusted to them with much greater success than we could have expected. If they have done so in small matters, would they not do so in great ones? If they have served gladly as Municipal Commissioners, would they not still more readily take a part in the real government of the country? No one denies that they would do so, and the only question is what part shall be assigned to them?

One proposal is that natives of India should be more freely admitted into the Executive Government, and especially into its higher appointments. We thoroughly approve of this, but it is no remedy for the evil we are now discussing, which is the want of sympathy between the government and the people. The proscription of a whole nation from all the higher official posts is as bitter an insult as could be offered to the national feeling; we are thankful to say that there is no sanction whatever accorded to this proscription in the law of the land, or the orders of Government. There is no legal impediment to the appointment of a Hindu or a Muhammadan to the Governor-Generalship itself. But there is a combination of all classes of Englishmen, both official and non-official, to exclude natives from any post of which the salary is worth the acceptance of a "respectably connected" European. Some young Bengalis no sooner succeed in forcing an entrance into the sacred ranks of the Covenanted Civil Service than fire is opened against them from all sides. Probably not a single one of their assailants has had the very slightest opportunity of judging the real powers of these young men, but this is of no consequence whatever. Their education has been superficial, and they are mere empty smatterers; this is proved by the mere fact that they have passed an examination in which those who know nothing whatever about it, or who have themselves failed at it, say that success is attained solely by "cram," but in which those who have themselves passed assert most positively that mere cram and superficial smattering are useless. Of course we are informed that the new men cannot ride, and that they are physically weak; but as every Englishman is not a Fordham or a Hercules, we condescendingly admit that these qualifications, though desirable, are not absolutely indispensable, and we pass on to assert as an indisputable truism that no Bengali can possibly possess that "cool courage" and moral firmness which saved the Empire in the crisis of its

"destiny." These qualities are admirable, no doubt, and perhaps we admire them none the less because every man can assert, and really believe, that he possesses them himself and that his opponent does not. But when the crisis does arrive, these qualities are often found where least expected, and are as often "conspicuous by their absence" in the great officials who have been supposed to be their only depositaries. Are we really justified in assuming that all Englishmen are cool and wise in danger, that no Bengális are so, and that consequently every Englishman and no Bengáli is fit to be entrusted with the charge of a district? The late Kuka disturbances in the Panjáb will scarcely bear out the first assertion; as to the truth of the second we have no evidence whatever, for we have never tried the experiment.

Those who rail at the supposed effeminacy and cowardice of the Bengális are anxious to assure us that they do so from disinterested motives; they are in no way opposed to the admission of natives generally, it is in fact on behalf of natives that they protest against the elevation of the least worthy races to a position of authority. They would be only too glad to see any post conferred on the old aristocracy, or the manly Sikhs. It is unfortunate that those who profess these sentiments have not the higher offices in their gift; for there is a contrast between these professions and actual practice which our native fellow-subjects may consider arises from inconsistency, and not from the fact that English public opinion is powerless to secure an object it so much desires, as the appointment of natives to high posts. Let us take the Commissions of the Non-Regulation Provinces, which are so largely officered by military and uncovenanted men. Who are these men? We have not a word to say against them as a class; on the whole they have no doubt done their work quite as well as their covenanted brethren, and some of them are amongst the very best servants the Government possess. But these qualities have been displayed since their appointment, which was originally due—in the great number of cases—to interest and not to merit. It cannot, therefore, be alleged that Englishmen had proved a superior fitness which could not be disregarded. After providing for every Englishman who could possibly claim an appointment on the ground of merit, a very large number of vacancies would still have remained. The disposers of patronage might have gratified their desire of providing for the "manly" Sikh or "high born" Rájput to their heart's content. Have they done so? How many natives are there in the Non-Regulation Commissions? One, Mahmud Hyat Khan, C.S.I., who was the Orderly of the Great Nicholson, who has lately, in some matters connected with the frontier tribes, rendered more service to the Panjáb Government than the majority of officers are likely to render during the whole of their career,

has lately been appointed to the bottom of the list of Assistant Commissioners ; that is, it is possible for him to rise to the charge of a district some 30 years hence, if no outsiders are brought in and placed over his head. About the same time a Cavalry officer of whose services no one had ever heard, but who was probably related to some one in power, was made a full-blown Deputy Commissioner in the Central Provinces.

When these facts are pressed home to the notice of the friends of the manly Sikh, they often turn round and impute to all natives the defects they have ascribed to Bengális. But whether they do this or not, the real reason at length is given, "no European would consent to serve under a native." We cannot blame the European ; if by asserting that he will not serve *under* another, he is likely to be appointed to serve *over* him, he would be very foolish not to make the assertion. If, however, the alternative was serving *under* or not serving at all, the objection would soon disappear. The flunkey who could not demean himself by saying Amen ! to a governess, would have put his pride in his pocket as soon as he found it caused him practical inconvenience. We remember hearing a young civilian loudly asserting the impossibility of one of his service serving under "an uncovenanted man ;" but on his transfer to a Non-Regulation Province, he himself submitted to the degradation without a murmur. So it would be in the case of natives. Although we have been answering the objections raised against the employment of natives in posts of responsibility, it must not be supposed that we desire that a native should be appointed to such a post simply because he is a native. This would be even a greater mistake than to appoint a man simply because he is a European. All we ask is that there should be no prejudice on either side, that a man's fitness for a particular post should be judged only by the qualities of the man himself, and not by the qualities we may chose to put forward as the characteristic of his nation generally.

We claim it is a right for the natives of this country that they should be treated practically, as they are already regarded theoretically, as equally eligible with Europeans for any post they are personally capable of filling. We are by no means insensible of the steps already taken by the Government in this direction ; we may think that they might have been more decided, but we must acknowledge that it is a great thing to have made a beginning. But however freely natives may be admitted to official appointments, and however great may be the benefits of adopting this policy, it is clear that it does not necessarily involve an extension of popular institutions. No doubt the people are brought more into sympathy with the Government when they feel that it is no longer exclusively in the hands of a bureaucracy of aliens ; but

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the admission of individual natives into the personnel of the Government does not necessarily secure a greater control over public affairs by the non-official public. The ideal state is not one in which all alike may hope to share in the emoluments and privileges of office, but rather the one in which the public itself, by taking an intelligent part in politics, brings these emoluments and privileges under proper control.

Some writers despairing of the existence of such a control in India have proposed to create it in England by permitting India to return members to the House of Commons. Such a proposal scarcely requires serious consideration. It would be impossible to separate English from Indian questions; if Indian members were excluded from voting on the former, they might with equal justice demand that English members should be excluded from voting on the latter questions. No one for a moment imagines that the English people would submit to have their home policy decided by men elected to represent the wants, or even the prejudices of our Indian districts. If Indian members were admitted at all, it would be in such a small number that they could have no appreciable effect on a division. It is said that they are not wanted for actual voting power; their part would be to make known to the Parliament of England the real wants of the people of India. But surely if the English governing body really desires to ascertain these wants, it would be much simpler for the officials employed in India to place themselves in direct communication with the people themselves! Can we really suppose that the wants of 200 millions could be adequately represented by half a dozen of even the most enlightened natives of India addressing a somewhat larger number of English members of Parliament? The utmost the Indian gentlemen could do would be to deliver some general orations on the benefits of popular institutions; even if they understood themselves, they would entirely fail to make their hearers understand, what were the practical evils of which they complained, and what was the value of the remedies they proposed. And how are these half dozen gentlemen to be selected? Are they to be appointed by a series of Electoral Colleges? Is each district in India to elect representatives, who will again elect representatives for the province, who will finally select a few members to proceed to England? Surely if the people are capable of electing true representatives in the first instance, and these again have sufficient judgment to select the fittest men in the second election, the people and their immediate representatives are already quite capable of taking an intelligent interest in public affairs, and are fit to be admitted to a considerable share in their control.

Are they not fit now, we do not say to exercise all the power

of the House of Commons, but at least to be allowed to express their wishes. We have already pointed out that much of the estrangement between the Government and the people is due to the contempt with which high officials treat the notion of the existence of anything like an intelligent public opinion. If any official coming direct from his district into the Council room asserts that the people have a strong opinion on a certain point, and that it is against the proposals of Government, he is met in the first instance with the "lie direct"—he is told that the people have no opinion, and that he is simply trying to impose his own ideas on the Council as the sayings of a mythical Mrs. Harris. If he succeeds in proving that his statement about popular opinion is true, he is then met with the "retort courteous," and told that if the people really do hold these views they must be downright fools. No doubt some of our statesmen have such a profound conviction of their own infallibility that no amount of evidence would convince them that they are wrong on any point, but they will not hold office for ever. We cannot do the Government the injustice of believing that all its members are as obstinate as those to whom we refer; we believe that the Government as a whole is really anxious to ascertain the true feelings of the people, and that it is prepared to give an impartial hearing to the reasons by which those feelings are supported. How can it do this unless there is some organized system for the expression of these feelings? And what system can be compared with the one of assembling the representatives of the people themselves? It is said that popular opinion can be more truly ascertained by the officers of Government. This we deny entirely. Even if we assume that the district officer is a thoroughly able and impartial man, that he will transmit to his superiors what the people really think, untinged by any views of his own—after all, the Government will but have received second-hand what it might have obtained direct. We need not point out the positive harm that arises if the officer fails himself to ascertain correctly public opinion, or makes an incorrect report on it to his superiors.

We think, then, that any serious attempt to bring the Government and the people nearer together must be based on the establishment of representative institutions of some kind or another. It remains for us to consider what should be the form of these institutions, and what should be the functions of the assemblies thus formed.

It is clear that these assemblies must be local. An assembly for all India would be open to much the same objections as the plan for sending members to England. If the number of members were small the representation would be inadequate. If the number were enlarged so that the different parts of the country were

fairly represented, not only would the assembly be unwieldy, but it would become a perfect Babel. It would become so if each locality attempted to make itself heard, and if the localities were silenced, the very object of the assembly would be frustrated. We want to ascertain the feelings of the people on certain practical points connected with the actual working of the Government machine, and not to listen to a series of essays on the best theory of government. On the other hand if we multiply our assemblies to such an extent that each contains the representatives of but a very small area, we miss all the advantage arising from the meeting together of men with different habits and ideas, we are likely only to intensify local prejudices, and we should necessarily lower the dignity and importance of the Assembly in the eyes of the public. We think that we could not do better than follow the existing administrative divisions. Each local government, including in this term the government of a Chief Commissioner, should have its separate Assembly. Bengal, Madras, and Bombay have each their local councils; these might be retained as separate institutions, or merged in the new Assemblies.

Who are to be the members of these Assemblies? Shall officials be admitted? We think so, most decidedly. Were they to be excluded, one great object which we seek, the bringing of the Government into direct contact with the people, would be defeated. Ideas, and even erroneous opinions mooted in the Assembly would have to be transmitted to Government "through the usual channels," and would be replied to in the usual official language. The benefit of having officials who were obliged to listen to views opposed to their own, and to meet them in fair argument, would in itself be very great. We must also remember that in addition to their position as members of the Government, many officials are really the very best representatives of the people that could possibly be selected. An intelligent officer who has passed the greater part of his life in hard district work, and who honestly desires the improvement of the country, has almost as thorough a knowledge of popular wants as the people themselves. His power of forcibly and clearly expressing these wants is far superior to that of almost any native member, for he is not only more practised in expressing his own ideas, but his higher culture enables him to more easily realise and combat the ideas of his opponent. For instance, some practical objection to a Government proposal is stated by a native; it is answered by a member of the Government by a reference to certain theoretical principles; the native knows nothing of these principles, and he either subsides, or enunciates other principles of his own which cannot for a moment stand the test of criticism. But

his European ally is as well acquainted as the member of Government with the theories so boldly brought forward; he is able to point out that the meaning now assigned to them is totally different from the meaning of the original author, and he can shew conclusively that they have no application whatever to the question under discussion. As to what officials should be admitted, we can lay down no precise rule, for the circumstances of the various provinces differ so greatly, that what would be a good arrangement in one, might be mischievous in another. We can only lay down what we conceive to be the true object of the appointment of officials, and leave it to the local governments to carry it out in detail. In the first place it is necessary that the non-officials should greatly out-number the official members; for were it otherwise, the voting power of the officials, aided by the non-officials who, from motives of self-interest always support the Government, would be so great, that all expression of popular opinion, in opposition to the Government, would be crushed. In the second place we must remember that we require the attendance of officials for two purposes,—a defence of Government measures, and an advocacy of the feelings of the people. The former duty can best be performed by officers more or less intimately connected with the Government, who know all the cards in the Government hand, who are acquainted with the whole of its policy, and who can defend its measures with all the skill of an able but honest advocate. These men would be, as it were, in the position of ministers of the Crown; they must be appointed by personal selection, and this selection must be made by the Government itself.

The other class of official members may be roughly described as the independent section of the Government party. It may be said, that as a rule, they would support the Government policy but they would not hesitate to oppose any particular measure that they thought objectionable. The qualities demanded of them would be a sympathy with the people, and a practical acquaintance with the work of administration. As we have already said, we can lay down no fixed rule for their appointment, but we might suggest that all officers holding a position equivalent to that of Magistrate of the district would come under this class. If we assume the number of districts in a province to be about thirty, we should thus have thirty officials who were ex-officio members of the new Assembly; if to these were added some twenty others personally selected by Government, the total number of officials would be about fifty, and this seems to us to be the number really required.

To arrange in detail for the appointment of non-official, is even more difficult than to arrange for official members. For the

political state of each province, or even of the various districts of a province, differs far more widely than its administrative arrangements. Town and country,—that is the trading and agricultural classes,—should both be fairly represented, and the representation should be to a great extent in proportion to the actual strength of these interests. If we were to take a minimum of two and a maximum of four members for each district, and two representatives from each first-class, and one from each second-class municipality, we should obtain a very fair assembly in point of numbers. The country members would be in excess of the official; what would be the precise number of town members we cannot say without referring to the statistics of the municipalities of each province. They should be very little, if anything, in excess of the country members; if the number of second-class municipalities in any one district is very great, they might divide their quota of members between them.

Having decided roughly what is to be the constitution of the proposed Assembly, the next question is, how are its members to be appointed? The natural answer would be, by popular election. This no doubt will ultimately be the means employed, but we must not suffer ourselves to be carried away by popular phraseology, or to be unduly anxious for the introduction of particular forms which are not likely to work well in practice. We are perfectly aware that the argument that "the people are not yet fitted" for such and such a thing, is often put forward merely as an excuse for retaining power and patronage in official hands. But it is unfortunately true that the people sometimes *are* unfitted; and when they are so, it is useless to pretend that they are not. We have proposed that the town members should be appointed by the municipal committees, and we have no doubt that the members of these committees are perfectly capable of selecting their own representatives. In these cases, therefore, the appointment should undoubtedly be by election. But to call on all the agriculturists of the district to elect a representative would be simply an absurdity. To ninety-nine per cent. of the electors the whole proceedings would be utterly unintelligible, and the few who did understand the duty they were called on to discharge, would have but little conception of the motives which ought to actuate them in performing it. Where local rate committees, and other similar institutions, have been established, it might be possible to adopt the modified form of election suggested for municipal committees; but otherwise we would leave the selection, for the present, to the district officer, of course restricting his choice to the landowners of his district. We are fully alive to all the benefits attaching to the system of popular election, and we may fairly hope that the people will one day

enjoy them. If we really wish them to do so, our true policy is to train them generally to appreciate them ; when we have taught them to take an intelligent and active part in the management of small things, when they have shewn themselves capable of selecting fit men to serve as their representatives on municipal and other committees, we may then entrust them with the duty of electing members for the Provincial Assembly.

We have now sketched, in outline, the proposed Assembly ; if our suggestions were carried out it would contain about 200 members ; 50 of these would be official, and the remaining 150 would be distributed between the trading and agricultural interests. The important question now arises, what is the Assembly, thus created, to do ? Those who object to the ideas of an Assembly *in toto*, often put their objections in the form of a dilemma. They say, if you collect these men together merely as a sort of social science congress, where each member can air his crotchets, the whole thing ending in empty talk, you are at best making a great waste of valuable time, you will probably be weakening the Government, and making men imagine they have grievances merely for the sake of having a subject for a speech. If, on the other hand, you propose to endow your new Assembly with all the powers of the House of Commons, the result will be still more disastrous. Legislation will be rendered impossible ; measures really necessary for the welfare of the country will be rejected *in limine*, or even if their principle is accepted, almost every member will tinker them with amendments which will make them nonsense, and the control exercised over the executive would make Government an impossibility ; and the control of the finances would simply mean that whilst no money would be voted for really public purposes, large sums would be squandered on the grossest jobbery ; finally this money would be raised, not by an equitable system of general taxation, but openly throwing the burdens directly on the weakest classes of the community, or at best by reviving the vexatious and ruinous protective duties of Native States. Those who raise these objections assume that the alternative is the House of Commons or nothing ; and that any Assembly possessing less actual power than that House must be a mischievous sham, a mere hindrance to real work. Do they suppose that the House of Commons, with all the mass of traditions by which it is practically governed, sprung from the brain of Simon de Montfort fully equipped in all its modern armour ? The men who composed that statesman's first parliament had quite as crude notions of the general principles of legislation and finance as the Natives of India at the present day ; had it been objected to Simon de Montfort that his parliament was utterly incapable of debating the disestablishment of the Irish Church, or of calling a minister to account for his foreign

policy, his reply would have been—God forbid that they should attempt such things! But he would not have admitted that because they could not do this they were useless. No one will now maintain that they were so, unless, indeed, he be a thorough-going advocate of despotism, and considers any check on the power of the Government mischievous. Of the powers now exercised by the House of Commons the original House had scarcely a shadow. The power of the purse is regarded by us as the great emblem of popular control, and no doubt it has been held by the Commons almost from their birth. But we must remember that in early days this power was something very different to what it is now. Now not a single branch of the public service can be carried on without a distinct vote of the House, and a general refusal of supply would simply reduce the country to a state of anarchy. Then the expense of the whole of the general administration, such as it was, was defrayed out of the hereditary revenues of the crown, and taxes, like tonnage and poundage, voted to the sovereign for life at the commencement of his reign. Supplies were then demanded for some especial purpose, such as a war, or to free the king from his private debts. If they were refused, the general business of the country would go on as usual; the only result would be that the monarch would be thwarted in his wishes, and if he wished to carry his point he had to concede some equivalent. Thus the principle arose that supply was contingent on the redress of grievances; but this is something very different from the principle now openly acknowledged, that the sole control of all the financial system rests with the House of Commons.

If the House's power of the purse was not great, its legislating power was still smaller. Even now laws are enacted nominally not by the Parliament, but by the Sovereign "by and with the advice and consent" of Parliament. We need scarcely say that this phraseology now represents only a legal fiction, but in the early days of Parliament laws were really and truly enacted by the Crown. It was long before measures introduced into Parliament even took the form of bills. Originally they were mere petitions, praying the sovereign to issue a certain order; if the petition were granted the king's officer placed it with others, and at the end of the session drafted the prayer and its endorsement into a formal order.

As to the control exercised over the executive government, we need only observe that when the Commons at length obtained the recognition of their power of impeachment, they felt that they had gained a great victory.

To attempt to sketch even in the briefest manner the way in which the House of Commons attained its present position would require not one or two paragraphs in the present article, but a

whole series of separate essays. All that we wish to point out is the fact, that the powers now exercised by the House were not conferred on it at its birth, but have been gradually gained by it in the struggles of centuries. These powers rest on the unwritten rather than on the written law of the country, on the understanding which we call constitutional practice that has grown up from generation to generation, and not on the grammatical meaning of the Act of Settlement. To confer these powers on a newly created Assembly would be simply an impossibility; all that we can do is to call our Assembly together, lay down some very general rules for its guidance, and leave it to work out its own destiny. We know that it cannot for many generations obtain the position of the House of Commons, but it by no means follows that it will be useless.

What are the principles that we should thus lay down? The whole subject is exhaustively treated by Mr. Mill in his fifth chapter on the "Proper Functions of Representative Bodies." The conclusions at which he arrives are these; the Assembly should maintain full control over Legislation, the Executive Government, and Taxation, but this control should be a control over general principles, and not an interference in the petty details of actual administration. Thus the Assembly should determine the general principle of a proposed law, but leave it to a skilled commission to draw up the measure in detail. If the Act thus drafted failed to satisfy the Assembly it might be entirely rejected or sent back to the commission for amendment, but no alteration of the clauses in detail should be attempted by members of the Assembly themselves. As regards the executive government, the Assembly should content itself with seeing that trustworthy men are placed at the head of the various departments; it should remove them when they cease to deserve its confidence, but as long as they retain office the details of administration should be left in their hands. Similarly, the introduction of all measures of taxation should be left to properly qualified and responsible ministers. Their schemes might be rejected wholly or in part, but the Assembly should make no attempt to substitute schemes of its own for any part of the ministerial plan.

The above principles are, of course, based on the idea that the ultimate control must rest with the Representative Assembly,—and this ultimate control must rest with the actually strongest power in the State. This does not mean that the weakest party ought to be stripped of every semblance of power, or that the written law should be constantly changed so as to correspond with the apparent strength of rival interests. It may be that, as in the English Constitution, the maxims of the unwritten, remedy all defects in the written law. In such a case, to insist on a

change in the latter would be most unwise. The written law of England assigns to the Sovereign personally many prerogatives which have been virtually abolished by the unwritten law ; as long as the Sovereign abstains from any attempt to revive them their theoretical retention is harmless, and to insist on their formal repeal would only provoke angry opposition. But the case is different when we are erecting for the first time representative institutions on the basis of a written law. To formally assign to such institutions a power they are practically incapable of exercising would be the surest way of bringing them into disrepute. A minister who thoroughly hated popular government, could find no surer way of defeating it for a season, than by pretending to be deeply enamoured of it, and insisting on introducing it into India in its extreme form. An imitation House of Commons would soon bring the government of the country to a deadlock—in a deadlock the weakest has to give way ; in a free country the weakest is the minister, for he knows that if he were to attempt to triumph over his opponents by a *coup d'état* the whole country would rise against him. But in India the country would not rise ; the Assembly would, for the time being, be crushed, and the minister would assert, almost without contradiction, that popular government had been proved an impracticable dream.

We must, therefore, be content with assigning to our proposed Assembly powers far short of those which it ought to possess in theory, and to which we may hope it will some day attain. Thus, in the department of legislation, instead of having an absolute power of framing and rejecting laws, it should be restricted to giving its opinion. Any member of the Assembly might introduce a measure of his own : it would be duly discussed, and, if approved, forwarded to the Legislative Council for enactment. We would insist on its being formally introduced into the latter body, but we would not insist on its being passed. The Bill should not be quietly buried in the office of the Secretariat ; those who were opposed to it should be responsible for its rejection, and should openly avow the grounds of their opposition. Similarly, all measures proposed by Government should be, in the first instance, laid before the Provincial Assembly ; the principles involved should be thoroughly explained, and objections to these, or to the details of the measure, met with fair argument. The Assembly should proceed to vote in the ordinary way, but we would not make its vote final. Although a measure were rejected by the Assembly, the Government might still introduce it into the Legislative Council, and, if carried there, enact it law. But it would obviously abstain from doing so unless it were very sure of the soundness of its policy ; and the more real the power of the Assembly became, the less frequently would this prerogative be exercised. If,

eventually, the Assembly were to become the real power of the State, this right of legislating without its consent would become as obsolete as the Sovereign's personal veto in the English Constitution.

The control of our proposed Assembly over the executive government would, nominally at least, be small. In England the control is based on the power of dismissal possessed by the House of Commons. When that body declares that the chief officers of Government no longer possess its confidence, they are forced to resign *en masse*. The House by deliberately forcing them to do so implies that it has its eye on another set of men able and willing to take their places. Gladstone and Disraeli, and their respective followers; change seats, and the effect on the country in general is almost imperceptible. But the resignation of the Viceroy and his Councillors and Lieutenants, and the succession of the leaders of the opposition in the provincial assemblies would mean the wildest revolution. When the assemblies have produced men fit to take office, it will be time enough to consider whether a vote of the Assembly should be sufficient to place them there. But in the meantime we by no mean wish to imply that the Assembly should give up all thought of executive government as matters too high for it. Long before the House of Commons gained its power of practically nominating the minister of the crown, it possessed the privilege of questioning and impeaching them. This power of questioning we would allow to its fullest extent; of course the official interrogated might decline to answer when the public interest really demanded his silence, but he should not make this plea simply an excuse for keeping the people in ignorance; the more a government can take the people into its confidence the stronger will be its hold on popular affections. As to the power of impeachment little need be said; it is practically obsolete, and it is so mixed up with the peculiarities of the English Constitution that it is obviously unsuited to India. We have already said that any person can sue any official for damages in the civil courts; for his prosecution in the criminal courts for his official acts the sanction of Government is necessary. It might be enacted that the Government should be bound to give this sanction, if asked to do so, by a formal vote of the Assembly, and of course the Assembly would have the power to vote an address praying for the removal of any particular offender.

Over taxation a popular assembly has less control than over other matters of legislation. Even in England, though Parliament can refuse grants of money, it cannot make them except on the proposal of the ministers of the Crown. In the same way, we would propose that in our assembly, money-bills should be introduced only by Government; that they should be debated upon

and sent to the Legislative Council like other bills. We cannot allow a power of absolute refusal for the same reason that we cannot give the Assembly an absolute control over the executive. The rejection of the financial schemes of the Government implies that the opposition leaders are prepared with rival schemes of their own, and that they are ready to take office and carry them out. If this is not the case, the persistent refusal of the Assembly to grant supplies would inevitably produce that deadlock, which, in the present state of the country, would lead to the destruction of the Assembly itself.

It may be objected that an Assembly, without actual power of controlling the Government, would be a mere debating society, and that its discussions and decisions, not being followed by any definite legal results, would be mere empty talk. This charge of wasting time in talk is one that has been brought against even those assemblies which do possess the ultimate power of control, and it is thus ably answered by Mr. Mill.—

“ Representative assemblies are often taunted by their enemies
“ with being places of mere talk and *bavardage*. There has sel-
“ dom been more misplaced derision. I know not how a repre-
“ sentative assembly can more usefully employ itself than in talk,
“ when the subject of talk is the great public interests of the
“ country, and every sentence of it represents the opinion either
“ of some important body of persons in the nation, or of an indi-
“ vidual in whom some such body have reposed their confidence.
“ A place where every interest and shade of opinion in the coun-
“ try can have its cause even passionately pleaded, in the face of
“ the Government and of all other interests and opinions, can
“ compel them to listen, and either comply, or state clearly why
“ they do not, is in itself, if it answered no other purpose, one of
“ the most important political institutions that can exist any-
“ where, and one of the foremost benefits of free government.
“ Such ‘talking’ would never be looked upon with disparagement
“ if it were not allowed to stop ‘doing’; which it never would, if
“ assemblies knew and acknowledged that talking and discussion
“ are their proper business, while *doing*, as the result of discus-
“ sion, is the task not of a miscellaneous body, but of individuals
“ specially trained to it; that the fit office of an assembly is to
“ see that those individuals are honestly and intelligently chosen,
“ and to interfere no further with them, except by unlimited la-
“ titude of suggestion and criticism, and by applying or withholding
“ the final seal of national assent. It is for want of this judicious
“ reserve that popular assemblies attempt to do what they cannot
“ do well—to govern and legislate—and provide no machinery
“ but their own for much of it, when of course every hour spent
“ in talk is an hour withdrawn from actual business. But the

"very fact which most unfits such bodies for a council of legisla-
 "tion qualifies them the more for their other office, viz., that they
 "are not a selection of the greatest political minds in the country,
 "from whose opinions little could with certainty be inferred con-
 "cerning those of the nation, but one, when properly constituted,
 "a fair sample of every grade of intellect among the people which
 "is at all entitled to a voice in public affairs. Their part is to
 "indicate wants, to be an organ for popular demands, and a
 "place of adverse discussion for all opinions relating to public
 "matters, both great and small; and, along with this, to check
 "by criticism, and eventually by withdrawing their support,
 "those high public officers who really conduct the public
 "business, or who appoint those by whom it is conducted.
 "Nothing but the restriction of the functions of representative
 "bodies within these rational limits will enable the benefits of
 "popular control to be enjoyed in conjunction with the no less
 "important requisites, (growing ever more important as human
 "affairs increase in scale and in complexity,) of skilled legislation
 "and administration. There are no means of combining these
 "benefits except by separating the functions which guarantee the
 "one, from those which essentially require the other; by disjoining
 "the office of control and criticism from the actual conduct of
 "affairs, and devolving the former on the representatives of the
 "many, while securing for the latter, under strict responsibility to
 "the nation, the acquired knowledge and practised intelligence of
 "a specially trained and experienced few."

It is true that an assembly such as we have sketched would not possess this power of control, and of "finally withholding the seal of national assent;" but it is this very power which leads to that undue interference in details which makes the charge of waste of time in talk sometimes deserved. The absence of this power may cause our assembly to fall short of an ideal representative body, but it would in no way deprive it of its true functions of discussion and criticism; on the contrary, from the absence of the temptation to interfere in actual administration, it is probable that these functions would be more freely and fully exercised. Because the assembly could not positively force the Government to accept its opinions, it by no means follows that its expression of these opinions would be useless. To maintain that it is mere waste of time for a man to express his opinions, and for others to listen to him if he cannot enforce them, is to advocate that tyranny of the numerical majority, which is denounced by our most thoughtful writers, as the greatest danger and evil of a democratic government. Mr. Mill himself, when in Parliament, could scarcely persuade the House to adopt a single one of his opinions; when he rose to express them their defeat was almost a foregone conclusion; as far as any

practical result was concerned his speeches were mere talk, yet no man can seriously maintain that listening to them was a waste of time.

Before we condemn an assembly as useless we must fairly consider what is its *raison d'être*. Popular institutions are valuable because they raise the moral and intellectual condition of the whole people of the country, and not because they give us better laws or reform the administration, or even because they prevent the official classes from oppressing the other members of the community. Let us admit that for the next fifty years the proposed assemblies will not cause the passing of a single law, the institution of a single administrative reform, the prevention of a single case of oppression which would not have been passed, instituted, or prevented under the present *régime*, yet it will be possible for them at the end of this period to have done an amount of good which is simply incalculable. For they may have taught the people of India that God has *not* divided mankind into two simple classes, the governors and the governed; that supreme power in the State is not a prize to be snatched by the strongest, and used by him for his own private advantage till the day when "there cometh a stronger than he who taketh from him the armour in which he trusted;" that such of the evils affecting the social state which are curable by the governing power are to be cured not by sitting down in despair and praying for a benevolent despot, but by the firm resolve of the people not to permit the evil to continue. They may teach them, too, that the science of government is not a system of skilful intriguing by each class or interest for its own supremacy and advantage, but an unselfish desire by all to pass those measures which will advance the true interests of the nation; that there is such a thing as the common good, and that it is the duty of every one to strive after this in his political, even as he should strive after the *τὸ καλὸν* in his private life.

That this lesson should be mastered in fifty, or even a hundred years, is more than we can possibly expect. But it is the bounden duty of those who have mastered it to endeavour to teach it to others; and no anticipations of the dullness of their pupils can absolve them from this duty. We Englishmen should feel proud that, both from our position with regard to the government of the country, and from the training we have individually enjoyed, this duty belongs to us. If in this article we have urged the Government to progress, we would not have it supposed that we ignore what it has already done: probably no Government in the world has ever spontaneously given its subjects so much freedom. It has voluntarily placed its officials, from the Governor-General downward, under the control of the law; it has delegated to a Council—which, if it can scarcely be called a really representative body, is

certainly a great advance on the bureau of a single despot—the whole power of legislation and taxation ; and it has, by establishing municipal and local committees, sown the seeds of free institutions, the further development of which depends solely on the people themselves.

Even as regards the admission of natives to high appointments, the Government policy is infinitely in advance of the opinion of individual Englishmen ; and the instances where it has been practically carried out, if not numerous, are very important. Every appointment, even of a single native to an office hitherto held exclusively by Europeans, is a great victory ; all this the Government has done voluntarily ; most of the changes were never even demanded, and never has the demand been too vehement to be easily resisted. We urge it to carry out this policy to its legitimate result ; but we most thoroughly appreciate its conduct in adopting it at all.

But when the Government has done its utmost, there is much that can only be done by the personal character of Englishmen individually : no excellency in a system of mere teaching will effect what has been effected by the personal influence of an Arnold. We may set up by law the outward forms of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity ; but if we hate and despise our fellow-subjects in our hearts, they will not respect or love us the more for coming to them with a lie on our lips. The influence of a Master, who has truly loved his pupils, lasts through life ; they may rise to a position equal, or even superior to his, but they will always look up to him with respect, and cherish every tie that tends to keep up the old connection. How different is the case of the hired crammer ! He teaches his pupils the same facts as the other, he may even teach them better ; but the transaction is a purely business one. He teaches them, not because he takes the slightest interest in their welfare, but because he can make a large income by doing so. With the payment of the last bill, all connection between master and pupil ceases. Instead of respect, the pupil's sole feeling is a desire to pay out his former master for the arrogance and contempt with which he was formerly treated. We are in the position of the master,—which type do we most nearly resemble ? Here and there an Arnold may be doing God's work ; but we fear that we must confess that the majority of us are no more than hired tutors. We wish we could think otherwise ; but the evidence is too strong for us. Take the English portion of the press. There is little fault to find with the general policy advocated : but do not the correspondence columns, and all that expresses the feelings of Englishmen personally, teem with complaints against this "beastly country," and the failings of its inhabitants ? Would not a stranger gather from this, that our one idea is to draw as large a salary, and

get off home as soon as we possibly can? Again, what opinions do we hear expressed in private life? Do not Europeans, as a rule, look on the natives precisely as the Southern slave-owners looked on their slaves? To the precise way of expressing their feelings they may differ, just as the conversation of a humane and refined owner differed from that of his overseer. The coarseness and brutality of the latter is represented by the class amongst us that openly boasts of its powers in "licking niggers;" and this coarseness and brutality are none the less real because they are occasionally veneered over by a certain social position, and that knowledge of the rules of society which enables a man to assume amongst his own set the outward manners of a gentleman. And even with a higher type of men, how commonly do we hear the hateful term "nigger" used with no expression of anger, or even of intentional contempt, but as if it were really the proper designation of that inferior race,—the natives of this country? Even with those who do not use this term, the feeling which prompts its use is not wholly laid aside. We have ourselves heard a missionary—not a hypocrite, but one who really believed in his religion and worked hard for its propagation, say with reference to a native clergyman, who was in every way his equal, that the excellence of the latter shewed what the grace of God could effect "even in a native." The majority of us go to church Sunday after Sunday, and pray to a God "who" we profess to believe—"has made of one blood all races of men for to dwell on the face of the earth." No sooner is the service over than the sincerity of our belief is proved by the gentlemen of the congregation speaking of our "brethren" as "d—d niggers," and the ladies referring to them as "those horrid natives."

Until this feeling is banished, all our professed anxiety for a closer sympathy between governors and governed is useless. We may set up the forms of popular government;—we may even teach the people to appreciate their usefulness so that they will not readily allow them to be destroyed; if so, the blessing we shall have conferred on them will be immense; but they will shew us little gratitude for it. Nor shall we deserve it. May not the people fairly reply;—"true, you have accomplished a great work, but you have been well paid for it;—true, you devoted your whole energies to us during school hours, but out of those hours you treated us as the dust beneath your feet;—now that we no longer want your instruction, you ask us to continue to regard you as a loving guide and friend. We answer, love and guidance we have never received from you: had you shewn them to us in our youth, whilst we were under your care, they would have been invaluable to us;—as it is we have grown up as best we could, and our friendships, for good or ill, are

"already formed ;—you now offer us yours, you must pardon us if we say that it would only embarrass us, and that we must decline it."

We gladly acknowledge that many Europeans have laid aside their caste prejudices, and are working heartily with the people for the people ; but we fear that with the mass of our countrymen these prejudices are as firmly rooted as ever. Because we ask them to lay them aside, they must not think that we say that they only are to blame for the present estrangement between the races ;—or that we are blind to the defects of character so often found in individual natives that they may be not unjustly termed national characteristics. These defects may even be more numerous and more fatal than those of the European, and we should be the last to call them virtues, simply because the person in whom they are found are natives of India. That these faults should be pointed out and removed is by all means desirable, but we would leave this task to indigenous reformers ;—let us rather content ourselves for the present with curing our own faults, remembering who it was that said to us :—"First cast out the beam out of thine own eye ;—and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye."

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 "small way" that is well only considered as a
 "solution of it."
 We gladly acknowledge that many Europeans have laboured
 their whole lives and are working heartily with the people
 for the people; but the fact that with the mass of our country-
 men these principles are as hardly rooted as ever. I cannot
 tell them to lay down aside their most and think that we say
 that they only are labouring for the present, without labouring
 for the future;—but we are bound to the duties of christianity
 often found in individual actions that they may be not unjustly
 reached national character. These duties may even be more
 numerous and more real than those of the European, and we
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 but we would leave the task to indigenous reformers;—let us
 rather content ourselves for the present with curing our own
 mind, remembering who it was that said to us:—"How can
 we turn out of their own eye;—and then what shall we
 do to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye?"



CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Rājasthāner itivritta ; based on the *History of Rājasthān*, by Lieut.-Colonel Tod. Mivār. Part I. Calcutta: New Bengal Press. Samvat, 1929.

“**H**ISTORY,” says Dryden, “is a prospective glass carrying one’s soul to a vast distance and taking in the farthest objects of antiquity.” There one may see a picture of the world and of the nature of mankind ; and find from what slight and sometimes shameful occasions some of those men had originally taken their rise, who afterwards have had great authority in the world, and borne down all before them. But bare facts and minutiae of details are terribly teasing to all readers. A man that reads for amusement to beguile the tedium of his idle hours, must have something that can please his fancy, afford food to his understanding, and at the same time almost imperceptibly store his mind with facts. Bengal, though at present very prolific in literary and scientific works, was till lately sadly deficient in this kind of historical literature. The publication under notice is a creditable attempt to supply this deficiency. The author has undertaken an arduous task. In the first place, the circle of readers which he addresses is very wide. He writes to a national public, beginning, but only beginning, to feel that their country’s history is a practical concern for themselves. In the next place, Rājasthān is made up of so many small principalities that were he to take only a superficial view of the events that occurred there, his work would be voluminous. To use the language of Colonel Tod :—“There is not a petty state in Rājasthān that has not had its Thermopylæ, and scarcely a city that has not produced its Leonidas. But the mantle of ages has shrouded from view what the magic pen of the historian might have consecrated to endless admiration.” Our author, in the learned introduction that he has prefixed to his work, exhorts us to remember two things while reviewing a history of India. First, that the prominent place which history has gained in the studies of modern nations, was not accorded to it by the ancients. Second, that it is unjust to expect from the ancient authors of India, the same tone in writing histories which modern European scholars have imbibed by imitating the best Roman and Greek models ; for as in everything else, India treads quite a different path from all

other nations. Bearing these two propositions in mind, the more we search into the yet unsunned heaps of mytho-historical records of ancient and mediæval India, the more we are convinced that there existed some authentic historical records which were used in after years by Válmíki, Vyása, and other sages as the groundworks on which to raise their stupendous edifices. The Puránas themselves testify to the same effect : and these were probably the *Gáthás*. The truth of this statement of the author is further confirmed by the fact that the exact genealogies of the Solar and Lunar races could never have been compiled had there not been an authentic account that was handed down by careful scribes.

The descendants of the Solar and Lunar races, though they preserved the warlike spirit of their ancestors, and though the national spirit of independence burnt in their breasts ever and anon, and was fiercely kindled in cases of emergency, lost everything on account of their internal dissensions. The Ghorian could never have won the battle of Thaneswar, had not Prithví Rájá quarrelled with Jaychandra of Kanauj :—"There was a time," says our author, "when the Hindú flag floated on every part of India, from the cloud-belted Himálaya to the sea-girt Singhala." But where is that glory gone? Fled ;—perhaps for ever, making it altogether a matter of the obscure past, and leaving no relic behind. Even records are rare, that would attest that glory. Lieutenant-Colonel Tod, by his unwearied researches, has left us a fairly accurate history of Rájasthán ; yet in some parts, his book is uninteresting. Our author has left untouched many of the best portions ; and, moreover, as the early period is much obscured by fables, he plainly tells his readers not to hope for true accounts till later times.

The author promises in the beginning of his work to give a history of all the eight principalities about which Tod has written, namely :—1, Mivár or Udayapur ; 2, Márvár or Jodhpur ; 3, Bikanír and Kisangar ; 4, Kotá ; 5, Bundí ; 6, Ambar or Jayapur ; 7, Jasalmír ; and 8, the desert tract extending to the Indus. In accordance with that promise, he begins the history of Mivár in the number under review.

Before proceeding farther, we would glance at some of the sources from which these accounts are taken. Among them are the genealogies of the Rájput princes by a class of Bráhmans called *Bhattás* ; the work of Jaychandra, king of Jayapur ; and four manuscripts, namely, Khománras, Rájvilás, Rájráttnákara, and Jayvilás. The occasional notes of Muhammadan historians, the oral traditions current amongst the Rájputs themselves, as well as what could be gleaned from inscriptions in the temples, are largely made use of. In fact, the author has furnished us with the valuable fruits of sixteen years' incessant labour.

The author in the present number, after some preliminary remarks on the origin of the various Rájput families (which is still a very questionable point), commences his history of the Ránás from Kanaksen. The second chapter is taken up with the accounts, fabulous and real, of Guhá and Báppá; but the accuracy with which the dates of birth and accession to the throne of Báppá have been attained is praiseworthy. Báppá according to Colonel Tod (and the translator agrees with him) was born in Samvat 769, and became king when 15 years old. From this time up to the 11th century, fifty-nine sovereigns ascended his throne. The author divides this portion of his history of Mivár into four epochs. The first commencing with Kanaksen, A.D. 144; the second with Siláditya and the destruction of Ballabhipur, A.D. 524; the third with the conquest of Chitor by Báppá, A.D. 728; and the fourth with the accession of Saktikumár. The third chapter begins with an account of the kings between Báppá and Samar Singha; and the rest is an interesting *résumé* of the early Muhammadan invasions of India.

We are glad to observe, from the publication of this and some other similar works, that a spirit of historical curiosity is growing in the minds of our Bengali scholars. The important points to be regarded in historical writing are, truth of matter, method, and clearness of expression; and never to be forgotten is the maxim—“*ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat historicus.*” The writer, we think, has followed these rules; and maintains a great amount of soberness, even when he might have been (as is the tendency of most Bengali writers of the day) carried away by the romantic fictions with which the history of the Rájputs has been interlarded. The manuscripts are well collated, and the facts judiciously selected; some notes are also added which will be useful to the reader. The style of the book is easy, but highly polished; it is as far removed from the pomposities of the Bengali novel, as from the ungraceful crudities of most of our school-books. In spite of all this there are some faults; but they bear a small proportion to its merits. We hope that the author will go on with his project; and should he be able to keep up throughout the same amount of energy that he has shown in this number, it will be highly creditable to him. We wish him all success.

Visvadarpana. Monthly: Part I, No. 7; Srávana. Calcutta: New School Book Press, 1279.

THE writer of the first article in the present number of this magazine censures the mode of education encouraged by the University, and followed in our schools at the present day;

and complains that the results are not so good as they ought to be. He divides his subject into three parts; corrections, changes, and adaptations. The corrections he wants to make are, to decrease the number of English schools; and to appropriate the money saved thereby to the establishment of vernacular schools. The writer enacts the part of Ephialtes, the dastard Greek who led the Persians around to the rear of Thermopylæ; he shows the enemies of Bengáli advancement how they can attack it in a mortal point. We are sure the inconsiderateness of this advice will be apparent if it be examined a little more closely; and at any rate no really patriotic Bengáli of education will agree with it. If, as the writer hints pretty clearly, it is his aim to see the students of vernacular schools turn out good Bengáli authors, the scheme he proposes will never answer his purpose. No one can write chaste Bengáli unless he has some knowledge of the Sanskrit; but perhaps he wants all his countrymen to write such Bengáli as he does himself. On the other hand, the number of books that exist at present in the language is very small. Any one with a moderate amount of labour can master them all within a short year or two. We believe there is some truth in the censures which he pronounces on the manner of selecting subjects for the minor scholarship examinations. On the third topic which he touches upon, it is unnecessary for us to say anything.

In the next article, the writer urges the necessity of granting pensions to the teachers and pandits of aided-schools. But where is the money to come from? It is not for the Government to supply the money; it has done its duty when it gives a grant-in-aid; so that the burden falls upon the managers of the schools, and they again are too poor to grant pensions who cannot sometimes afford to pay their teachers in full.

After reading so much folly in the first three articles, it is rather a relief to come to the fourth:—"On attractions;"—which is really very instructive. The translations of the *Adhyátma Rámáyana* and the *Mákandeya Purána* are of course continued.

We should like to know who taught the author of the papers in this magazine to write Bengáli. In the original articles his language is inaccurate and colloquial in the extreme; and in his translations the harsh and high-sounding Sanskrit words that he makes use of, are jarring to classical ears. Comparisons, says *Dogberry* in *Much Ado about Nothing*, are odorous. Had we more space than we can spare, we would have taken the trouble to compare an article of this magazine of scanty merits and high pretensions, with another from a number of the *Banga Darsana*, and show that our criticism is a just one. We are really at a loss to understand how it is that such flimsy

productions have maintained their ground so long, and that the intelligent natives of Bengal are willing to waste their valuable time (we doubt if many are doing so) on such parlous heaps of trash.

Hálisahar Patriká. A fortnightly magazine: Part II. No. 4: Jaistha. Calcutta: Columbian Press. 1279.

THIS magazine opens with a clever article on "The Musical Instruments of India." The various instruments now in use are divided into two main classes—*svara jantra** and the *tála jantra*, the first class is again sub-divided into three species, the *tankára*, *dhánuka*, and *bainava*. The author gives a description of all of them; and has tried, where he could, to trace their origin in a really scientific manner. We wish the article had been longer. Passing over the second, which is merely a list of the contents of the *Padma Purána*, we come to that headed the "*Kumára Sambhavam*." Some part of the text of the eighth canto is given and a translation is also appended. We doubt whether this is the real text. The edition of the "*Kumára Sambhava—Uttarakhandam*," published a few years ago by Professor Táránátha, seems to be the correct recension; and the reasons which the Professor has brought forward in his preface to prove that the one generally read in Bengal is spurious, are fairly conclusive. Next comes some trashy blank verse—a part of a poem entitled "*Svaragabhransa Kávya*." As far as we can judge of it from this number of the magazine, it seems an imitation or translation (whatever its author may chose to call it) of Milton's immortal poem; unless it be a parody on a poem published two or three years ago by a native convert,—"*The Svarga bhrashta kávya*"—a book as full of nonsense as this one. There is another piece of poetry—"The Love Mirage," which is rather better. The article "Outspoken Truth" is a disgrace to the magazine whose pages it sullies with its atrocious vulgarisms. It is an indecent lampoon on the character of some of the truly great men that have graced, or are gracing, Bengal with their unintermittent labours to mend the social, political, and moral depravity of their country. It only sets off in an unfavourable light the gross ill-breeding and boorish unmannerliness of the author. The last article, "A Wonderful Creature," promises to be a thoughtful one.

* Those that assist in any way the rise and fall of the voice of man come under this class; whereas those that assist him in keeping the cadence proper to a peculiar style of song come under the second.

Bāngálā Bhāshā o Bāngálā Sāhitya Bishayaka prastāb. A discourse on the Bengáli Language and Literature ; with a brief account of the lives of the most famous Bengáli authors, together with short criticisms on their works. Part I. By Rāmagatī Nyáyaratna. Hugli. Budhodaya Press. Samvat. 1929.

THE thick veil that has for years shrouded the results of the intellectual culture of the Bengális during the middle ages, is now in a way to be drawn aside, by a growing inclination to study the writings of the older authors, among our educated natives. Until very lately few of these gentlemen were aware of the fact that there existed in Bengal a literature worthy of the name and worth studying ; and for this reason many spent their time in reading the tawdry rhymes, trashy blank verse, and worthless novels, that are every day issuing from the native press. Mention to them the name of Kavikankan or Govindadās, and the picture of an uncultivated Bengáli of the old school immediately arose in their minds, and they perhaps recalled the ribaldries of the Minerva press novels ; but how little did they think that instead of hunting after poetry amidst the literature of foreign nations, they had but to turn to the literary history of their own country, and they would have found no cause to repent of their selection. Professor Rāmagatī's book is an argument in support of our thesis. It is certainly one of the most important books that has ever been published in Bengal. It is a comprehensive treatise, elaborately got up with the most unwearied research, embodying an amount of matter that we have not seen in a single volume for some time.

The book opens with an account of the origin of the Bengáli alphabet, which the author proves pretty conclusively to have been in use before the tenth century of the Christian era, and to be only a modified form of the Devanágari alphabet. The author then proceeds to the solution of the *vexata questio* :—What was the origin of the Bengáli language? The wonderful similarity that exists among the roots, prefixes, affixes, &c., of the different languages of the Aryan stock, and the life-long labours of Bopp and Curtius, Grimm and Prescott, Burnouf and Max Müller, prove beyond doubt that the Bengáli was an offshoot of the original Indo-European language. Many have supposed that the Bengáli was *directly* an outcome of the Sanskrit ; but the exact resemblance which many of the current words in the former language bear to their corresponding ones in the Prákrit, is a sufficient refutation of this surmise.

Exactly similar was the case in the rise of the Romance languages of Europe. It is said, that the Latin died in *giving birth* to these dialects ; but this assertion is false ; for the Latin in which Virgil wrote his poems was not the parent of the French or

Italian, but rather the Latin which was used in common speech by the masses at Rome. Just so, it was not the Sanskrit of Kálidása or Bhavabhuti from which the Bengáli took its rise; it was from the Prákrit, the language of the lower orders. "Dante," says Max Müller, "ascribed the first attempt at using the vulgar tongue of Italy for literary compositions to the silent influence of ladies who did not understand the Latin language. Now, this vulgar Italian, before it became the literary language of Italy, held very much the same position there, as the so-called Prákrit dialects in India; and these Prákrit dialects first assumed a literary position in the Sanskrit plays where female characters, both high and low, are introduced as speaking Prákrit, instead of the Sanskrit employed by kings, noblemen, and priests. Here then we have the language of women, or if not of women exclusively, at all events of women and domestic servants, gradually entering into the literary idiom, and in later times even supplanting it altogether; for it is from the Prákrit and not from the Sanskrit that the modern vernaculars of India branched off in course of time—from the domestic idiom of the mothers, sisters and servants at home." Sanskrit, says our author, was not the mother but the grandmother. But this assertion again is disposed of by the laws of dialectic regeneration. We quote Max Müller again: "Almost all languages," he says, "divide themselves from the *first* into two great branches; one showing a more manly, the other a more feminine character; one richer in consonants, the other richer in vowels; one more tenacious of the original grammatical terminations, the other more inclined to slur these terminations, and to simplify grammar by the use of circumlocutions. Thus we have the Greek in its two dialects, the Æolic and the Ionic, with their sub-divisions the Doric and Attic; in German we find the High and Low German; in Celtic, the Gadhelic and Cymric; as in India the Sanskrit and Prákrit." So that to carry the similitude farther, Sanskrit is rather an aunt than a grand-mother. But we must notice two important processes which are discernible in the formation of an easy from a difficult language. These are *Samprasárana* and *Biprakarsana*; and these two processes are clearly discernible in the formation of the Bengáli from the Sanskrit and Prákrit. Here a doubt arises; there are many words in the Bengáli which can be traced neither to the Sanskrit nor to the Prákrit, nor to the Arabic, nor to the Persian; how are they to be accounted for? This has led many of our philosophers to conclude that the language of the aborigines of the country was the basis to which the Sanskrit and Prákrit furnished materials for raising the superstructure of the language. However this may be, this is not the place to discuss the point.

We next come to the second chapter, where the Professor

commences his history of the Bengáli literature. "Language, though in itself not a living creature, has yet its origin in the heart, which is the principal part in the organisation of a sentient being; and inasmuch as it dwells for ever in the sense of speech, and is the chief moving power of a rational animal, it has also, like that of the body, its infancy, youth, and maturity." Following this similitude, he divides his history into three periods—the old, intermediate, and modern; but we choose to call them the primitive period, the period of model literature, and the regeneration period. The first extends from the earliest times to the birth of Chaitanya, A.D. 1485; the second from the time of Chaitanya to that immediately preceding Bhárat Chandra, A.D. 1752; and the third from that time to our own.

The first period is commemorated by the names of Vidyápati and Chandidás, who have left us very little of their works except some fragments which can be gleaned from the *Padávali*, *Padakalpataru*, &c.—religious works of the Vaishnaví sect. It is not certain when these Bengáli Chaucers lived; but the approximate date that can be assigned to them is the fourteenth century. Vidyápati's compositions are always deep though sweet; and though in some places he is unintelligible, still his sweet music always enchants the reader. We have seen a Bengáli book, the "Purusha Parikshá," which bears his name; but for some reasons we think with our author, that this is a translation by some modern scholar from the original Sanskrit in which he wrote. Chandidás was properly the Gower, if not the Chaucer of Bengáli literature. The same lively expression of natural feeling characterises both the English and the Bengáli poet. Here we may as well notice that these two native poets took the style and metre of Jayadeva for their model; and his "voluptuous mysticism" pervades all their writings.

As we mentioned before, the second period commences with the birth of Chaitanya. This period witnessed the *Kharchás* of Jívagovámí, the *Chaitanya-Bhágavata* of Brindávandás, the *Rámáyana* of Krittivás, the *Chandí* of Kavikankan, the hymns of Rámesvara and Rámprasád and the *Vidyásundara* of Kaviranján. This was the period when the horrible and obscene rites of Bhavánism on the one hand, and the speculative doctrines of Vedantism on the other, gave way to the more practical religion preached by Chaitanya, which the people had for a long time been yearning after, and for which their minds had been in a manner prepared. The credit of beginning to write books in Bengáli on a large scale, is due to the efforts of the Vaishnavas; and it was in imitation of these enthusiasts that Kavikankan and Krittivás, Govindadás and Kásirám produced their immortal poems. It is curious to observe that in Bengal too, as in Europe during the

sixteenth century, literature began to flourish as the handmaid of a religious revolution.

Krittivás wrote his *Rámáyana* about the year 1538 A.D. Nyáyaratna tries to show that Krittivás was ignorant of Sanskrit, which appears highly probable; the principal reason adduced in support of this thesis is, that while professing to give a Bengáli version of Válmiki's poem, he has given us almost a different thing. He was a highly imaginative and sensitive poet.

Kavikankan was by far the greatest of the Bengáli poets of this period. His *Chandí* occupies the same place amongst Bengáli epics, as Milton's *Comus* among English dramas. It is essentially a pastoral. It opens with prayers to Ganesa, Sarasvatí, Lakshmi, Chaitanya and Ráma; and then begins properly the poem, in which there are two stories. Without wearying our readers with an account of them, with which many of them are already well acquainted, we proceed to characterize the poetry of Kavikankan. He is at times more pathetic and soft than any other Bengáli author whose works we know. He loves to depict in words which befit tender thoughts, the sorrows of a love-lorn damsel, the forests in spring, a moon-lit bank, or a beautiful landscape. The Apsarás of heaven and the nymphs of the wood are his favourite companions. Purling streams and flowery slopes; the sweet song of the Kokila, and the hum of the bee; sylvan solitude, and breeze laden with fragrance, are to him more than delights. There is a calm transparency and a tender beauty in his narrative, which fascinate every reader, and which are seldom, if ever, interrupted. His extensive acquaintance with human nature places him in the same niche with Sir Walter Scott. Like Homer, he too has given means of sustenance to thousands of the natives of this country. It is scarcely too much to say that in nice discrimination of characters he, of all Bengáli poets, has most nearly approached Shakspeare. Never in his pictures, has he mixed the shade of one character with that of another. His Kálketu and Bharudatta, Dhanapati and Srímanta, Fullará and Lahaná, Khullará and Durbalá are all different personages. He was poor; and his genius was richly displayed in his description of the poverty of Fullará. But Kavikankan was not at the same time a faultless poet. In the conduct of his piece there are gross absurdities which a poet of less originality would not dare commit. Professor Rámagati has pointed out many of these, and they are too palpable to need any repetition here. His language is not so easy as that of Krittivás; and the broad provincialisms which he occasionally makes use of are either wholly obsolete or are used only in some obscure corner of Midnapur. His exact age has been a disputed point; but the scholarly ingenuity with which our author has made this out, reflects not a small amount of credit on

him. He shows that the poem was written some time between the years 1573 and 1603 A.D.

Kásirámdás was another luminary of this period. The language which he has used in his Bengáli version of the Mahábhárata is much more polished and easier than the *Chandi* of Kavikank-an ;* and it was in his poem that we see the Bengáli *payára* reach its final perfection. His date is approximately fixed at about 1668 A.D. Whatever may be said against Krittivása's knowledge of the Sanskrit, Kásirám's language has too much of Sanskrit words and idioms in it to allow of the supposition that he was unacquainted with the classical tongue of his country. To the honour of these poets be it observed, that it was the recitation of Krittivás and Kásirám that infused some amount of knowledge, however small, into the minds of the lower orders of Bengal. The poor shopkeeper and the "swinked hedger," even now beguile the tediousness of their leisure moments by the pleasure they derive from the perusal of these poets ; and the generality of their countrymen, even those that have some pretensions to some sort of education, could never have had access to the rich stores of philosophical and religious thoughts of their Aryan forefathers, much of which is embodied in the works of Válmiki and Vyása, had it not been for these two.

The other poets of this age are Rámesvara, Rámprasád and Kaviranjan ; of whom the second is known to many on account of the melodious songs he has left us. The tunefulness of these songs is so peculiar and so thoroughly Bengáli, that it has won for him a lasting renown ; and there is scarcely a single native who is not familiar with some of them.

With these names ends this period. There were of course others ; but they are perhaps too insignificant to merit any notice ; or perhaps none of their works are to be found, and therefore our author has left them out. But the state of a language in a certain period is best illustrated by the prose literature of a nation, and during the four hundred years which we have gone through in review, we have found scarcely a single book written in prose.† Professor Rámagati thinks that the *Rájávali* (a list of the kings) of Tripurá and the *Pratápáditya Charita* by Rám Rám Basu, were written during this period. We have seen the latter work, but we do not think that the style in which it is written, or the language, can bear so early a date ; it is probably the production of the modern period.

* This was merely the *title* of the poet, his real name being Mukundarám.

† Of course we except the "Pur-

usha Parikshá" from our remark ; but even that we think belongs to a later period.

Here ends the first part of Professor Rámagati's valuable work. With all its merits the book is not faultless. Govindadáś,* certainly one of the higher order of the Bengáli poets, is passed over without any more comments on his writings, than that he used more Hindi words in his poems than any other author of his time. There are other omissions, but our notice has already become too long. We may at some future time dwell more in detail on them, after the second part is out ; and these faults again are so insignificant that we exclaim with the poet —

একো হিদোষো ঞন সন্নিপাতে

নিমজ্জতীন্দোঃ কিরনে ধিবাক্ষঃ ॥

The style in which this book is written has much to recommend it. It is elegant, pure, and unaffected. The criticisms on the authors noticed are in most cases just and scholarly ; and the accuracy with which the writer has fixed the dates of several of them, would do honour to any European scholar. The book will possess the charm of instructive novelty for most native readers, even the most highly educated ; and schoolboys will read it with alacrity, because knowledge is given to them in an acceptable form, and not in that of a task. The varied learning and the wonderful research of the Professor, to which this book is an indisputable evidence, will help it to maintain its place among the studies of the educated youths of this country for years to come ; and we have no doubt that his example will soon be followed up by many who have made literary history one of their chief pursuits.

Sámatáika Trikonamik—(Anglice) Plane Trigonometry. Part I. With the use of Logarithms. By Brahma Mohan Mallik. Calcutta : Hitaishiní Press, 1279.

WITH the utmost pleasure we hail this the first appearance of a treatise on Trigonometry in Bengal ; and the more so as it comes from the hands of one of the ablest mathematicians among the Bengális. Bábu Brahma Mohan's *Euclid* won for him golden opinions from all competent judges ; and we believe his reputation will be increased by this edition of a *Trigonometry* in an elementary school-book form. He says in his preface : " In

* A recent author says that Govindadáś, as appears from the language of his poems, was a contemporary of Vidyápati, and therefore lived before Chaitanya ; but this assertion is disposed of by a line which we quote from one of his poems :

পেখলু গৌরচন্দ্র নটরাজ ।

জঙ্গম হেম ধরাধর উয়ল কিয় নবদ্বীপে মার্জ ॥

the present treatise I have closely followed the plan of English authors, and wherever possible, adopted significant Bengali terms corresponding nearly in sound to the English names, for the Trigonometrical *Ratios*. Similarly, I have represented the constant ratio of the circumference of a circle to its diameter by the *Devanāgrī* letter π , resembling the Greek letter π in form and exactly in sound. Devanāgrī characters have also been used to represent angles referring to the circular measure." The book comprises all the preliminary propositions that are required for the solution of triangles; and a chapter on Logarithms and Logarithmic series is also added. The several parts of the book are nicely arranged, the definitions and requisite explanations given in the clearest manner; and as a considerable number of examples are appended at the end of each chapter, we doubt not that it will prove a very successful elementary work for educational purposes.

The small interval of time that has been allowed between the publication of the *Euclid* and the book before us, leads us to hope that our author will undertake the preparation of the text-books for the other and more important branches of mathematics, and thereby obtain the heart-felt thanks of his countrymen for placing the sciences of the West before them in an acceptable form.

It is worthy of remark too (though this point has been discussed more than once in the pages of this Review), that the number of Sanskrit words made use of in this work, to express the technicalities of Trigonometry, shows clearly the poverty of the Bengali language in scientific terms. Those who oppose the retention and culture of the Sanskrit in our schools and colleges, if they would spare a little of their leisure to glance at this book, will certainly find that the cultivation of what is called the "Vernacular," cannot supply them with words sufficient to write a treatise on any science. Almost all the scientific terms in English are taken either from the Greek or the Latin. Now, it is evident, that these terms would never have been obtained, nor could they have been understood, had it not been for the study of these two classical languages by the scholars of Europe. Sanskrit should undoubtedly hold the same place in Indian studies that Greek and Latin have held in those of the West.

Kumāra Sambhava. A poem by Kālidāsa. Translated into Bengali verse by Rangalāl Bandopādhyāya. Serampore: Alfred Press, 1279.

THE author of the *Padminī Upākhyān* now appears before us in a new light—that of a translator. He has long since been known to us as a writer of high literary culture and good

taste ; and, as a poet, the sweetness of his diction and the tenderness of his feelings, as well as the high and animated strain to which he rises in describing the fiery Rájputs when they bleed for their gods and their homes, are familiar to every reader of Bengali poetry. Kálidása originally wrote his *Kumára Sambhavam* in seventeen cantos, of which the first seven only are generally read by his countrymen. The eighth canto has some obscene *slokas* ; and Siva and Umá, two deities whom the Hindus look upon as the parents of this universe, are made the subjects of this extremely objectionable description. It is greatly to the credit of the good taste of the Hindús, that they have left the remaining ten cantos of this poem, totally out of the curriculum of their studies. Babu Rangalál has proved a worthy representative of his ancestors in omitting these portions of the eighth canto, of which he has given only the "*Description of the Evening*." This, according to the unanimous verdict of critics, is the most beautiful piece in the whole poem, and our author has done well in appending it ; and here too, ends his work.

To those natives who are unacquainted with their national classic, the only means open of knowing the manners and customs of their ancestors during the Augustan age of Sanskrit literature, is to read the translations of the masterpieces of that period. This, as he says in his preface, is the only motive which incited our author to undertake this arduous task. Dryden has said somewhere, that to translate a poem in a foreign language, and that in verse, requires in the translator not only a knowledge of good words and an elegant style, with a command over his own mother tongue, but also a mastery over that of the original author. Not only is it requisite for him to render the author's thoughts in pleasing numbers and varied metre, to enter into his feelings and sympathise with him ; but also that he be a *poet himself*. This is the secret of Dryden's success as well as of Pope's. Babu Rangalál evidently seems to have discovered this ; he shows all, or almost all, these qualifications in this book. His language is in general sweet, and his versification pleasing. One of the chief peculiarities of Kálidása was that he could compress a comparatively long train of thoughts within a single stanza. Our author has been somewhat unfortunate in his attempt to imitate this extraordinary terseness of the Sanskrit poets. In some places his language has, on this account, become obscure, and at others, his diction is so hard, that when compared with the sweetness of the original, it becomes, to use Kálidása's own simile.

শ্রোতৃবিত্ত্বা রিব ভাভ্যমানা ।

Another fault,—and certainly a very grave one according to Sanskrit rhetoricians,—which we found in going through the work

is the *distant connection* (দূরান্বয়) of words ; but instances of this we are happy to assert, are few. On the whole, the book is very well written ; and we earnestly wish that it may receive its due applause from the literary circles of Bengal.

2. GENERAL LITERATURE.

A Modern Version of Milton's Areopagitica : with Notes, Appendix, and Tables. By S. Lobb, M. A.—Calcutta : Thacker, Spink & Co., 1872.

MR. LOBB'S little volume would, we think, compare most favourably, both as regards matter and printing, with many of our best known editions of annotated ancient classics. Any one who has endeavoured to get up Milton's prose with the same thoroughness and in the same spirit as he read Demosthenes or Tacitus at College, will hail the scholarly commentary and appendices of this book, as supplying a vast need to students of our great English classic. Be he Englishman or Bengali, there is no one, we imagine, who will not be able to learn much from the elaborate notes, illustrations and tables which form the great body of the work ; and the concise summary and the divisions of the argument in the margin, give a most clear and comprehensive view of the treatise as a whole.

The style of Milton's prose, more Latin than English and therefore peculiarly difficult to those who have never read the ancient classics, perhaps makes a paraphrase such as Mr. Lobb's "Modern Version" seem a necessity in such a school-book here in India ; but, knowing how ready native students are to think every thing of paraphrase and comment, and nothing of the original text, we regret that Mr. Lobb did not leave this business of translation to the teacher in the class-room, and find a place in his book for the actual words of Milton. As it is we have corrections and additions, Preface, Introduction, Summary, Modern Version, Footnotes, Appendix, Supplementary notes, Addendum to note E, and finally three Tables occupying by themselves nearly 60 pages—while the *ipsissima verba* of the great Master find room only by scraps in corners. Bengali students, for whose immediate use the work was professedly compiled, will surely be apt, amid this labyrinth of explanatory matter, to lose sight of that which should be their real study, Milton's own words : to Englishmen the Modern Version would appear less sacrilegious if alongside of or below it Mr. Lobb had given us the real thing. This could easily be managed in another edition by a little rearrangement : the footnotes would lose nothing by being joined to their brethren called 'Supple-

mentary' and 'Addenda'; the book would then look less like a mere *crib*; and a certain want of solidarity in the whole, which strikes one at first reading, would be obviated.

But of the subject matter of the work there cannot be two opinions. The 'Version' is spirited but plain; the verbal criticisms are accurate; and the exhaustive mass of illustration and reference leaves little to be looked for elsewhere. But Mr. Lobb has by no means confined himself to bare paraphrase and commentary: he has, we think, fully succeeded in giving us a picture of one phase of the political life of our nation, at that most noble era of the deadly fight between a licensed and licensing hierarchy and Civil Right; when England amid the birth throes of Freedom and Truth,—“casting off the old skin of corruption to outlive these pangs and wax young again”—at last took her own high place, the cynosure of a wondering world, and broadcast throughout priest-ridden Europe began “disseminating the blessings of civilization and freedom among cities and kingdoms and nations.” Mr. Lobb's object being, we take it, to give such a picture, he has naturally gone in more for historical commentary than for the Elenchs of Criticism. Table II, which contains a life of Milton on an original plan, his personal history being printed in column parallel to that of England, is a most useful part of the work.

We are glad that our author has not quite succeeded in his expressed endeavour to sink his own personality: it is to that personality we owe the most striking part of the book, the Introduction. Here we have Mr. Lobb in his most enthusiastic vein upon a subject about which there is no doubting his earnestness, even if we disagree with his somewhat advanced conclusions. Starting from an enumeration of the three great epochs which mark the successive stages in the development of the West, each with an epic of its own, he goes on to prophesy how in after times Milton 'shall come again'—as Arthur the blameless king is, according to our Laureate, again to come. The overthrow of a priest caste founded upon apostolic succession involves that of an hereditary royalty founded upon divine right: and our new poet is to raise the pæan over the breaking fetters of a licensed State church, over the crumbling ruins of a mouldered constitutionalism: he is to celebrate in fit prose and verse the enthronement of Liberty and Fraternity: he is to prepare the way and make straight the paths for the advent of the great Deity—Humanity. When this millenium fully comes, Mr. Lobb thinks it will have its own epic—but till then he can give us little hope of aught but “tenebrous versifiers.”

However, the work is full enough of real information for those whose ears are deaf to these Positive theories;—and if some such rearrangement and consolidation as we have suggested could be

brought about, we see no reason why, in reverse of the usual process, India should not send to England this volume, to become one of the standard editions of modern classics at our public schools.

The Indian Antiquary: A Journal of Oriental Research in Archæology, History, Literature, Languages, Philosophy, Religion, Folklore, &c., &c. Edited by Jas. Burgess, M.R.A.S., F.R.G.S. Bombay, 1872.

WE regret that we have not space in the present number for more than a passing notice of the progress made by this admirable archæological journal; in a future number we hope to consider more at length its more valuable features, and to draw the attention of our readers to some of the striking and novel information that has at times been put forth by Mr. Burgess and his able staff of contributors. Continuously and energetically supported by some of the best-known antiquarians in India—we notice that amongst the regular writers are Mr. Beames and Mr. Growse of the Bengal Civil Service, with Dr. Leitner, Dr. Bühler, and Professor Blochmann of the Education Department, and many others—the *Indian Antiquary* could hardly fail of being a literary success; and we are glad to see that the later numbers are fully equal to the earlier, both in scientific value and in general interest.

In the December number, we get an article from Mr. Beames on “a copper-plate grant from Balasore” of the date 1483 A.D., with a *facsimile*. Dr. Hœrnle of Benares follows with an interesting paper on a curious philological point. *The Lady and the Dove* is a pleasing translation of “a Bengáli song by a Hindu Female,” contributed by Dr. Murray Mitchell. One of the most interesting things that we have seen for a long time is a *facsimile* (the writing only being translated or transcribed in Roman characters) of a Persian map of the world; which is of such an amusing nature, and so thoroughly characteristic of a Muhammadan writer, as in itself to relieve the number from any imputation of the dryness commonly ascribed to archæological magazines. In this map, the European states are included within a few small tracts on the confines of the Universe, under the general names “Farang” and “Rûs”; whilst important places like Sultánpur and Musjid Nasurali, and districts like Upper and Lower Bangash, occupy large spaces in the centre. It will doubtless interest geographers to know that on the southern frontier of China is the “Place of the Children of the Lord Moses, where the Lord Muhammad so-journed during the night of his ascension;” and that on the north of China is the “Place of Gog and Magog closed by Alexander. “Their stature is one hundred cubits. Each increases till one thousand. When he dies they eat him.”

List of Errata in the Article on Hindu Castes, in the last No. of the
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

	PAGE.	LINE
For "Savaiya" read "Suraiya"	384	20
" " never marry within" read "never marry except within"	387	2
" " aboriginal to a certain extent, converted, &c." read "aboriginal, to a certain extent converted, &c." ...	388	32
" " Bhunas" read "Bhunjas"	388	39
" " Hurrpur" read "Mirzapur"	389	28
" " Kurmi" read "Koiri" — ... — ...	389	30
" " Rasgar" read "Raugar"	389	34
" " Gowallas" read "Goallas" (and elsewhere) ...	389	35
" " Gaveis" read "Gareris"	389	38
" " Kamdu" read "Kandu"	390	6
" " Bathare" read "Batham"	390	10
" " Khatitis" read "Khatiks"	390	43